مقالاتِ حافظ محمود شیرانی

جلد دہم

مرتّبہ
مظہر محمود شیرانی

مجلسِ ترقّیِ ادب لاہور

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جلد دہم

(انگریزی مضامین، متفرق موضوعات اور منظومات
مع اشاریہ جلد نہم)

مرتّبہ

ڈاکٹر مظہر محمود شیرانی

مجلس ترقیِ ادب

کلب روڈ، لاہور

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یہ کتاب محکمۂ اطلاعات و ثقافت، حکومت پنجاب کے تعاون سے شائع ہوئی

فہرست مضامین

حصۂ اوّل: متفرق موضوعات

حصۂ دوم: منظومات

انگریزی مضامین

☆☆☆☆☆

عرضِ مرتّب

المنّت للہ کہ مقالاتِ حافظ محمود شیرانی کی تدوین کے جس کام کا آغاز اب سے چالیس برس قبل ۱۹۶۲ء میں ہوا تھا زیرِ نظر جلد کے ساتھ اختتام کو پہنچا۔ یہ اس سلسلے کی دسویں اور آخری جلد ہے جو بنیادی طور پر انگریزی مضامین کے لیے مخصوص ہے۔ ان میں سب سے نمایاں ڈاکٹر ہنری سٹب کی کتاب ''طلوع وعروج اسلام مع سوانحِ پیغمبرؐ اسلام'' کی تدوین کے ضمن میں شیرانی صاحب کا تحریر کردہ دیباچہ، کتاب کا تعارف، سوانح ہنری سٹب اور اصل متن کے بعد اضافہ کردہ ایک طویل ضمیمہ ہے۔ انھوں نے یہ کتاب اپنے قیامِ انگلستان کے دور میں پردۂ گمنامی سے نکال کر ترتیب دینے کے بعد سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء میں لیوزک اینڈ کمپنی، لندن کی وساطت سے شائع کی تھی۔ اس کے اخراجات بعض علم دوست حضرات، اداروں اور ترکی کے چند اخبارات کے عطیات سے فراہم کیے گئے تھے۔ معطیان کی ایک فہرست بھی کتاب کے ساتھ شائع ہوئی تھی۔

اس کتاب کی اشاعت کا تعلق پَین اسلامک سوسائٹی، لندن کی سرگرمیوں سے تھا، جس کے سیکرٹری خود شیرانی صاحب تھے۔ اس کام کی ایک خصوصیت یہ بھی ہے کہ یہ ان کا پہلا تحقیقی کام تھا۔ ہنری سٹب کی کتاب بعد میں لاہور سے تین مرتبہ شائع ہوئی لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ہمارے علمی حلقوں میں اس کی اہمیت کا کماحقہ اندازہ نہیں لگایا جا سکا۔ یورپ میں صدیوں تک اسلام اور پیغمبر اسلام کے بارے میں مجعول کہانیاں اور مجہول روایات رائج رہیں۔ سترھویں صدی میں ہنری سٹب (۱۶۳۱ء۔ ۱۶۷۶ء) پہلا شخص ہے جس نے اسلام اور بانیِ اسلام کے بارے میں اپنے ہم مذہبوں کی خرافات کو تسلیم کرنے سے انکار کیا اور حقیقت کا سراغ لگانے کی اپنی سی کوشش کی۔ اس نے اپنے محدود ذرائع سے جو نتائج اخذ کیے ان کو پوری دیانت داری سے اپنی اس تالیف میں پیش کر دیا۔ اس کی خدمات کا اعتراف کرتے ہوئے شیرانی صاحب لکھتے ہیں:

''سٹب، گبن اور کارلائل کی صف میں جگہ پانے کا حق رکھتا ہے جس کی عادلانہ تحریروں نے آنحضرتؐ کے بارے میں انگلستان کے فیصلوں میں کج رائی کا سبب

بننے والے تعصبات کا مقابلہ کرنے میں بڑی خدمت انجام دی ہے۔ لہٰذا یہ عین مناسب ہے کہ ہم اس بڑی شخصیت کو احترام کے ساتھ یاد کریں، جس کا کام، بلاشبہ، بعد میں آنے والی نسلوں کی قدر دانی کا مستحق ہے۔" (تعارف، ص ۱۶)

سٹب کی کتاب کے بارے میں شیرانی صاحب کی معروضات اور بالخصوص ان کے تحریر کردہ ضمیمے سے اس وقت تک صحیح معنی میں مستفید نہیں ہوا جا سکتا جب تک اصل متن پیش نظر نہ ہو۔ اس مقصد کے حصول کی خاطر سٹب کی تالیف کا متن بھی اس جلد میں شامل کر دیا گیا ہے۔ اس متن کا اشاریہ خود شیرانی صاحب نے پہلی اشاعت کے لیے تیار کیا تھا جو موجودہ اشاعت پر منطبق نہیں ہوتا تاہم اسے محفوظ رکھنے کی غرض سے شائع کیا جا رہا ہے۔

دوسرا مضمون شیرانی صاحب کی تیار کردہ ایک رپورٹ ہے جو انھوں نے اپنا مجموعۂ کتب پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری کو دیتے وقت، اس کے تعارف کے طور پر تیار کی تھی۔ یہ رپورٹ مرحوم خورشید احمد خاں یوسفی نے محترم جمیل احمد رضوی صاحب (موجودہ چیف لائبریرین پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری) کی وساطت سے لائبریری کی پرانی فائلوں سے حاصل کی تھی۔ بعد ازاں خورشید صاحب نے اس کو ترتیب دے کر "شیرانی کلیکشن" کے عنوان سے ادارۂ تحقیقاتِ عربی و فارسی راجستھان، ٹونک کے توسط سے شائع کیا۔ اس مضمون کے جملہ حواشی خورشید صاحب کے تحریر کردہ ہیں۔

سنہ ۱۹۴۰ء میں، جب یہ رپورٹ تیار کی گئی، شیرانی صاحب کا ارادہ صرف ۲۱۰۰ مخطوطات اور ۱۷۰۰ مطبوعات یونیورسٹی لائبریری کو دینے کا تھا۔ سنہ ۱۹۴۱ء میں تحویل کے موقع پر اس مجموعے میں، دیگر دستاویزات سے قطع نظر، ۳۴۹۰ مخطوطات اور ۱۷۱۰ مطبوعات شامل تھیں۔ علاوہ ازیں ۱۹۴۵ء میں انہوں نے ۱۹۹ قلمی اور ۴۷۸ مطبوعہ کتابیں لائبریری کو بطور عطیہ دیں۔ شیرانی صاحب کی وفات کے بعد ۱۹۴۶ء میں مزید ۶۰۰ مخطوطات ہم نے پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری کے حوالے کیے۔ اس طرح یہ قیمتی کتب خانہ کل ۴۲۸۹ مخطوطات اور ۲۱۸۸ کم یاب و نایاب مطبوعات پر مشتمل تھا۔ تاہم شیرانی صاحب نے اپنے تعارفی مضمون میں محض ابتدائی ۲۱۰۰ خطی نسخوں سے سروکار رکھا ہے۔ فارسی مخطوطات سے متعلق درج ذیل عنوانات کے تحت گفتگو کی گئی ہے:

قرآن پاک اور تفاسیر	سنہ و تاریخ کی حامل کتابیں	شاہی کتب خانوں سے متعلق کتب
مصنفین کے نسخے	معروف خوش نویسوں کے نسخے	تذکرہ ہائے شعرا

منتخبات اور بیاضیں	تاریخ	تصوف
مذہبی موضوعات	مجموعہ ہائے مکاتیب	شرحیں
کلیات و دواوین	عروض و قافیہ	کتب نصاب
موسیقی	باغبانی	جواہرات
فرس نامے	شکار	تیراندازی

اردو مخطوطات کے بارے میں نمایاں عنوانات یہ ہیں:

گوجری دبستان	ہریانہ دبستان	دبستان پنجاب

بعد ازاں عمومی بحث میں ان عنوانات کو موضوع بنایا گیا ہے:

خطِ بہاری	مصور نسخے	مطلّا و مذہّب نسخے
یورپی کاغذ	سنہ ۱۰۰۰ھ سے قبل کے حامل تاریخ نسخے	گیارھویں صدی ہجری کے حامل تاریخ نسخے

اس کے بعد شیرانی صاحب نے اپنے مجموعہ کتب کا رائل ایشیاٹک سوسائٹی بنگال (۱۹۲۴ء) کے کتب خانے سے موازنہ کیا ہے۔ اس موازنے میں انہوں نے اپنے مخطوطات کی تعداد ۲۲۱۰ بتائی ہے۔ اس وقت یہ خیال تھا کہ شیرانی صاحب کے مسکوکات کا گراں قدر مجموعہ بھی یونیورسٹی لائبریری حاصل کر لے گی۔ اس لئے آخر میں اس مجموعے کی مختلف ادوار سے تعلق رکھنے والے طلائی اور نقرئی سکوں کی فہرست بھی اضافہ کر دی گئی تھی۔

تیسرا انگریزی مضمون، ۱۹۳۵ء میں راجپوتانہ، گجرات (کاٹھیاواڑ) اور بمبئی کے ایک سفر کی مختصر روداد ہے۔ اس کی حیثیت ایک رپورٹ کی ہے جو شیرانی صاحب نے پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے اربابِ اختیار کو پیش کرنے کے لئے تحریر کی تھی۔ ان علاقوں میں کثرت باراں کے باعث یہ سفر موسم گرما کی تعطیلات میں ممکن نہ تھا۔ اورینٹل کالج چھٹیوں کے بعد ۱۶ ستمبر کو کھلنے والا تھا۔ شیرانی صاحب نے تعطیلات کے آغاز سے قبل ہی کالج کے پرنسپل کے نام پندرہ روزہ (از ۱۶ تا ۳۰ ستمبر) رخصت کی درخواست لکھی۔ ساتھ ہی اخراجات سفر کے لئے یونیورسٹی سے مبلغ دوصد روپیہ منظور کرنے کی گزارش کی۔ درخواست کی منظوری ڈاکٹر وولفر نے دی جو اُن دنوں ڈین آف یونیورسٹی انسٹرکشن تھے۔ اس سفر میں شیرانی صاحب نے چند شہروں میں بعض کتب خانوں کا معائنہ کیا۔ اس کے نتیجے میں انھیں گوجری اردو سے تعلق رکھنے والے بعض مخطوطات کے علاوہ فرقۂ مہدویہ کی متعدد تصنیفات کے مطالعے کا موقع ملا جس کی بنیاد پر انھوں

نے دو مضمون ''دائرہ کے مہدویوں کا اردو ادب کی تعمیر میں حصہ'' اور ''تاریخِ غربیؔ'' سپردِ قلم کئے اور یوں اردو کی تاریخ کا ایک نامعلوم ورق منظر عام پر آیا۔

انگریزی مضامین کے علاوہ شیرانی صاحب کی کچھ مختلف النوع تحریریں بھی اس جلد میں شامل کی گئی ہیں۔ ان میں پہلی چیز پانچویں صدی ہجری کے فارسی قصیدہ گو شاعر عثمان مختاری غزنوی پر لکھا ہوا ایک مضمون ہے جو غالباً اُس دور کی یادگار ہے جب شیرانی صاحب اورینٹل کالج میں منشی فاضل کے طالب علم تھے۔ مضمون پرانے انداز کی فارسی زبان میں ہے اور اس کے ساتھ شاعر کے ممدوحین کے حوالے سے اشعار کا طویل انتخاب ہے۔ مضمون میں مختلف روایات پر جرح و تعدیل کر کے حقائق کا سراغ لگانے کی بعض جھلکیاں ملتی ہیں۔ حکیم مختاری کے بارے میں ہماری معلومات بہت کم ہیں۔ اس کا دیوان سنہ ۱۳۳۶ شمسی (م۸۔۱۹۵۷ء) میں رکن الدین اور ہمایوں فرخ نے مرتّب کر کے طہران سے شائع کیا تھا۔ اس کے مقدمے میں شاعر کے سوانح حیات اور اس کے ممدوحین کے بارے میں طویل بحث کی گئی ہے۔ اس دیوان کی ترتیب میں دیوانِ مختاری کے صرف وہ نسخے استعمال کئے گئے ہیں جو ایران میں دستیاب تھے۔ چنانچہ جہاں متن کے تعین کا کام تسلی بخش نہ ہو سکا وہاں شاعر کے سوانح میں بھی شکوک وشبہات راہ پا گئے۔ ادھر شیرانی صاحب کے پیش نظر اب سے ایک صدی قبل لاہور میں موجود کوئی قلمی نسخہ تھا۔ اس صورت حال کی مناسبت سے میں نے سوانحی اور متنی اختلافات دکھانے کی غرض سے مختصر حواشی دے دیے ہیں۔

مجھے افسوس ہے کہ حکیم مختاری غزنوی کے بارے میں مشہور ایرانی فاضل آقائے جلال ہمائی کی کتاب باوجود کوشش کے لاہور میں دستیاب نہ ہو سکی، جس سے اس موضوع پر مزید روشنی پڑنے کا امکان تھا۔ بہرحال یہ ایک مستقل موضوع ہے اور یہاں اس پر طویل بحث ممکن بھی نہ تھی۔

قدیم شعرا کے ممدوحین کا سراغ لگانے میں ان کے ناموں اور القاب و خطابات کا اشتراک بہت سی دشواریاں پیدا کرتا ہے۔ شاید اس دقّت پر قابو پانے کے لئے شیرانی صاحب نے اپنی نوٹ بک میں مختاری والے مضمون کے فوراً بعد سلاطین غزنویہ کے خطابات کی دو فہرستیں درج کی ہیں۔ پہلی کا عنوان ''خطاباتِ سلاطینِ غزنوی بر سکّہ'' اور دوسری کا ''خطاباتِ غزنویانِ من تاریخِ ناصری'' ہے۔ اس سے بھی، اپنی نوعمری کے دور میں، ان کے شوقِ جستجو کا اندازہ ہوتا ہے۔

شیرانی صاحب کا ایک مضمون ''اردو کی شاخ ہریانی زبان میں تالیفات'' (مشمولہ مقالات حافظ محمود شیرانی، جلد دوم) اورینٹل کالج میگزین (نومبر ۳۱ و فروری ۳۲ء) میں دوقسطوں میں چھپا تھا۔ اس کے آخر میں ''سرون کے گیت'' کے ابتدائی تین بند بھی تھے۔ میں نے اس پر حاشیہ دیتے ہوئے باقی دو بند پروفیسر منظور الحق صدیقی کی کتاب ''ہادیٔ ہریانہ'' سے نقل کر دیئے تھے۔ بعد میں مجھے والد مرحوم کے زیرادارت شائع ہونے والے رسالے ''خیالستان'' (بابت فروری و مارچ ۳۱ء) میں اسی عنوان سے شیرانی صاحب کا ایک مختصر مضمون ملا جس میں یہ گیت مکمل صورت میں موجود ہے۔ یہ مضمون اور گیت میں اس جلد میں شامل کر رہا ہوں۔ میں نے مختلف ذرائع سے اس کی جو تصحیحات کی ہیں وہ قلابین میں درج کر دی ہیں۔ علاوہ ازیں بعض تازہ معلومات کا حواشی میں اضافہ کر دیا ہے۔

اسی طرح والد مرحوم کے ایک اور پرچے ''انتخاب'' (بابت جنوری ۲۶ء) میں ''بعض نئے اوزان'' کے نام سے شیرانی صاحب کی ایک مختصر تحریر ملتی ہے جس پر مدیر ''انتخاب'' نے تعارفی سطور لکھی ہیں۔ اسے بھی محفوظ رکھنے کی خاطر زیر نظر جلد میں شامل کر دیا گیا ہے۔

شیرانی صاحب ابتدا میں شعر گوئی سے بھی شغف رکھتے تھے اور ان کی بعض منظومات مختلف رسالوں میں شائع بھی ہوئیں۔ ایک نظم کے سوا، جو انھوں نے اپنی زندگی کے آخری دور میں کہی تھی اور جسے میں نے ''ہنس کا نغمہ'' عنوان دیا ہے، یہ سب نظمیں اور غزلیں ان کے زمانۂ طالب علمی کی یادگار ہیں۔ گو ان میں سے چند کسی نہ کسی تقریب سے بہت بعد میں اشاعت پذیر ہوئیں۔ ان منظومات کو جمع کر کے بطور تبرک اس آخری جلد میں شامل کیا جا رہا ہے۔

سلسلۂ مقالات حافظ محمود شیرانی کی پہلی سے آٹھویں جلد تک ہر ایک کے آخر میں اشاریہ کا اضافہ کیا جاتا رہا ہے۔ بعض ناگزیر وجوہات کی بنا پر یہ التزام نویں جلد کے معاملے میں ملحوظ نہ رکھا جا سکا تھا۔ لہٰذا یہ مناسب سمجھا گیا کہ جلد نہم کا اشاریہ بھی زیر نظر جلد میں دے دیا جائے۔

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حصّۂ اول

متفرق موضوعات

عثمان مختاری غزنوی

دولت شاہ و صاحب آتش کدہ و مخزن الغرائب متفق اند کہ او از اعاظم سخن وران زمان سلطان ابراہیم غزنوی است۔ صاحب تذکرہ دولت شاہی و آتش کدہ می گویند کہ او از اقران حکیم سنائی است و بامارت و منادمت سلطانی ممتاز بود۔ دولت شاہ و صاحب مجمع الغرائب می گویند کہ شیخ سنائی از تربیت یافتہای اوست چنانکہ چند قصیدہ در مدح او گفتہ و ازان جملہ مطلع یک قصیدہ این است:۔

نبود پیش دو خورشید و دو مہ تاری تیر
گر برد لمعۂ از خاطر مختاری تیر

وعثمان مختاری را قصیدہ ایست در مدح سلطان ابراہیم مذکور کہ مطلعش اینست:

مسلمانان دلی دارم کہ ضائع می شود جانش
در افتادم بدان دردی کہ پیدا نیست درمانش[1]

وبسی اکابر این قصیدہ را جواب گفتہ اند ھمانا بہ زیبائی این قصیدہ نگفتہ اند۔ مثل حکیم خاقانی و خواجہ خسرو دھلوی و مولانا عبدالرحمٰن جامی در جواب او کوشیدہ اند۔ وفات حکیم مختاری بقول صاحب مجمع الغرائب در سنہ ۴۳۴ھ در غزنی واقع شد و ھمانجا مدفون است۔ اکنوں می گوید بندہ محمود شیرانی کہ سلطان ابراہیم در سنہ ۴۵۰ھ بر تخت سلطنت جلوس فرمود و در ۴۸۱ھ و بقول دیگر در ۴۹۳ھ وفات کرد۔ ازین ظاہر است کہ مختاری یا ھم عصر سلطان ابراہیم نبود یا وفاتش در ۴۳۴ھ واقع نشد۔ وفات سنائی در شہور ۵۷۶ھ بقول دولت شاہ اتفاق افتاد وابوالقاسم فرشتہ فوت حکیم بقول بعضی از فضلا در ۵۲۵ھ کہ تاریخ اتمام حدیقہ است ظاہر می کند و بقول صاحب تاریخ گزیدہ درزمان دولت بہرام شاہ بود۔ (بہرام شاہ می گویند مدت سی و پنج سال سلطنت کرد و در ۵۴۰ھ وفات کرد)۔ ازین قیاس فوت سنائی درضمن سنین ۵۲۵ و ۵۴۰ھ بظہور پیوست و صاحب شعرالعجم این واقعہ بحوالۂ ریاض العارفین در ۵۴۶ھ می نگارد۔ حالا ظاہر است کہ اگر

مختاری در ۴۳۴ھ فوت شد و حکیم سنائی در ۵۲۵ھ یا در ۵۴۶ھ یا در ۵۷۶ھ، این هر دو بزرگوار از اقران یک دیگر نمی توانند بود و چه طور می تواند بود که سنائی هم عصر مختاری نود و سه سال بعد از وفات مختاری وفات می کند یا بقول دیگر یک صد و چهارده سال بعد از مختاری۔ بدین طریق اگر فرض کنیم که وقت وفات مختاری، عمر سنائی زیاد از بست و پنج سال نبود، عمر حکیم یک صد و سیزده سال یا یک صد و سی و نه سال می شود و این طول العمری اگر محال نیست از غرائب هست و این که گفته اند که مختاری در مدح سلطان ابراهیم قصیده نوشته که مطلعش بالا ذکر کردیم، مسلمانان دلی دارم...... الخ۔ این مطلع اغلب از مختاری نیست و اگر هست در قصائد مروجه یافت نمی شود۔ مختاری قصیدهٔ درین بحر و زمین دارد و مطلعش اینست:۔

مسلمان کشتن آئین کرد چشم نا مسلمانش
بنوک ناوک مژگان که پر زهراست پیکانش[۲]

هم خالی از استعجاب نیست که این قصیده در مدح محمود روباهی[۳] است چنانکه ازین اشعار ظاهر است:۔

بجان تو که از یاد تو جانی سازم این تن را
اگر محمود روباهی بصحت نیستی جانش
سرور بزم سالاران و بزم آرای صف داران
که سرهنگان گردن کش ببردارند فرمانش
مرا چون نامه در محشر بدست تو گناه آمد
هر آن شعری که جز محمود روباهیست عنوانش
تو آن روباهی کز دستت اگر شیری امان جوید
نخست افگندن چنگال و دندانست پیمانش
به هندستان بکن کاری چنان کاری و باحشمت
که عبرت نامه ها سازند مردان در خراسانش
که گر عثمان مختاری بدرد از داد درماند
بجز محمود روباهی که داند کرد درمانش

حالا ثابت است که این قصیده در مدح امیر محمود روباهی است که آن وقت در هندوستان متعین بود۔

تا اینجا تردید آن جمله بیانات کردیم که اصحاب تذکره در احوال مختاری نوشته اند۔
مختاری را قصیده ایست در مدح سلطان شاه (ابراهیم سلجوقی) که والی کرمان بود و مطلعش اینست:

گل نمود از تخت مینا گوشهٔ زرین کلاه
ابر گوهر بر کلاهش ریخت از چتر سیاه

ودر آن جامی گوید:

گو ز بدنامی میندیش و ز بی برگی مترس
جان شاهنشاه سلطان شاه ابراهیم خواه
آن که هم پروردهٔ ملکست و هم پیوند ملک
هم برادر زادهٔ شاهست و هم فرزند شاه

احتمال هست که ازین قصیده اهل تذکره در مغالطه افتادند واین سلطان شاه ابراهیم را سلطان ابراهیم غزنوی خواندند بوجه همنامی۔[۴]

درتاریخ سلطان شاه ابراهیم بنام سلطان شاه مشهور است و او فرزند قاورد بن چغر بیک والی کرمان هست که در جنگ ملک شاه سلجوقی شکست یافته اسیر گشت ومسموم شد و بعد ازین واقعه سلطان شاه بجای پدر والی کرمان بود ومختاری را قصیدهٔ دیگر است در مدح سلطان شاه چنانچه می فرماید:

شهنشاه سلطان شه آن بزرگی که ماه سپهراست گاو زمین را[۵]

چون قصائد عثمان مختاری می خوانیم ظاهر می شود که او بمداحی سلطان ابراهیم نپرداخته و زمان مداحی او دراواخر عهد سلطان مسعود بن ابراهیم غزنوی شروع می شود چراکه زیاد از یک قصیده در مدح مسعود نگفته وآن قصیده اینست[۶]:

ز بالین من آفتابی برآری چو رای ملک چهر مسعود غازی
خدوند شاهان گیتی که دارد بشمشیر هندی قوی دین تازی

اما ارسلان شاه پسر مسعود غزنوی ممدوح اصلی ویست که زیاد از پانزده[۷] قصائد غرا در مدح او گفته۔ چنانچه می گوید:

ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان که تا محشر جهان و خلق جهان را پناه خواهد بود

ودیگر:

کز خسروان به قبهٔ فردوس تخت ملک   سلطان ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان نهاد

وهم دیگر:

ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود   که ملک دنیا در قبضهٔ ظفر دارد

وهم دیگر:

ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود   خدایگان جهانست تا بیوم الدین

وهم درین باب:

سلطان ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان که داشت   از بهر او خدای، جهان را، در انتظار

ارسلان شاه بعد از سلطنت هفت سال و بزعم بعضی سه[8] سال بردست برادرش بهرام شاه کشته شد و مختاری قصیدهٔ دارد در مدح بهرام شاه مذکور[9]:

تخت کیکاوس را اسکندر از موبد گرفت   وافسر محمود را بهرام شه از ذوالفقار
از شکار گورخر مشهور شد بهرام گور   وز شکار پادشاهان این شه خسرو شکار
لاشک ازمحمود بهرام این چنین باشد که اوست   ملک جوی و تخت گیر و شاه بند و شاد خوار
تیغ محمودی که اسلام آبدار از آب اوست   بود سالی صد که آن بیکار بود از کار زار
باز درکار آمد از بازوی کشور گیر تو   تا کند هر ساعتی چون نصرت محمود وار

در روزگار ارسلان شاه مختاری در کرمان رفته بود و مدتی آنجا بود و چون به غزنین رسید ارسلان شاه ازو از جهت رفتن بکرمان سوٴ مزاجی داشت. درین ولا کسان تهمت کردند که او بار دیگر بکرمان رفته است ومختاری درین امر چند ابیات دارد در قصیدهٔ:

خدایگان سلاطین و صدر ملک خدای   که صدق و عدل چو بوبکر و چون عمر دارد
ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود   که ملک دنیا در قبضهٔ ظفر دارد
بباغ ملک نهالی نشاند همت او   که عدل و فتح و ظفر شاخ برگ و بردارد
خدایگانا! امروز بنده مختاری   مودبی سخنی چند مختصر دارد
یکی حکایت هائل بگوش بنده رسید   که جان بنده ازان روی در خطر دارد
حدیث رفتن جائی کزان گریخته ام   وزیر بی بدل تو ازان خبر دارد
زبس که برسر ایشان زدم ترا گفتند   که سریکی سپرد کو هزار سر دارد
خدای داند اگر نزد والی کرمان   بذرو ریختن خون من خطر دارد
بنعمت تو که این بنده خاک درگه تو   ز ملک کرمان بسیار دوست تر دارد

چو زرکند رخ خود پیش هر فرومایه　　کسی که از تو امید سیام زر دارد
حدیث خصمان درباب بندگان بشنو　　که باضعیفی صد شیر در گذر دارد

ودر همین معنی گفته:

مرا بکرمان از فخر خاک حضرت تو　　سخن شناسان بردیده ساختند مکان
ز بندگی و هوا خواهی تو آن کردم　　که صدر شان را بر من تباه گشت گمان
بنعمت تو که ساغر ستانه تو مرا　　هزار بار به از ملک و کشور کرمان[10]

اکنون ظاهر است که او مداحی سه سلاطین سلسلهٔ غزنویه یعنی سلطان مسعود بن ابراهیم، سلطان ارسلان بن مسعود و سلطان بهرام شاه بن مسعود کرد۔ مختاری سلسلهٔ مداحی سلاطین سلجوقیه کرمان هم داشت واورا در شان سلطان شاه سلجوقی دو قصیده است چنانکه ذکر شد۔ ایالت سلجوقیان کرمان از سنه ۴۳۳ھ آغاز می شود۔ اول ایشان قاورد بن جعفر بیگ بود که سی و دو سال ایالت داشت و ملک شاه اور اکشت۔ این واقعه قریباً در سنه ۴۶۵ھ بظهور پیوست۔ پسرش سلطان شاه برجای اونشست و دوازده سال حکومت کرد۔ وفاتش قریباً در سنه ۴۷۷ھ واقع شد۔ برادرش توران شاه تا پنج سال حکمران بود و در سال ۴۸۲ھ وفات یافت۔ بعد ارسلان شاه بن کرمان شاه بن قاورد چهل ودو سال حکومت کرد وقریباً در ۵۳۵ھ وفات یافت ومختاری در مدح این ارسلان شاه دو سه قصیده دارد چنانکه می فرماید[11]:

بوالحارث ارسلان شه کرمان شاه آنک　　اورا معز دولت و دین از فلک خطاب
جائی که امر تست چه کار آید از نجوم　　در مرغزار شیر چه کار آید از کلاب

ودر قصیدهٔ دیگر گفته:

سید سلجوقیان فخر شهان روزگار　　مفخر قاوردیان صدرهٔ ملوک پاستان
ارسلان شاه، ابن کرمان شاه، شاه بحروبر　　مایه ملک زمین و مادهٔ عمر زمان

وهم ازوست:

دی قاصد یار آمد نزدیک من از غزنین　　زان سرو پری پیکر زانماه بدیع آئین
نزدیک خرد مندان نیکو بود ای عثمان　　تو ساخته در کرمان من سوخته در غزنین
گرشه فکند خوارم والله که به دلدارم　　کزدست نه بگذارم درگاه معزالدین
بوالحارث بی همتا شاه فلک و دنیا　　کین مملکتش بادا پیوسته به یوم الدین

وهم در زمان قیام کرمان این قصیده در مدح حسین بن حمزه سید الوزرا گفته[12]:

بخواب دیدم دوش آن فراق یافته را　　رخش چوچشم نژند و قدش چوزلف دوتا
تنش چو سایه و آن سایه برکران زمین　　دلش چوذرّه و آن ذرّه درمیان هوا
رمیده هوش مرا دید و در امید از عهد　　شکسته وار بمن گفت کای شکسته وفا
گرفته پنج حواست هوای هفت اقلیم　　مرا سه سال بدو دست هجر کرده رها
زروز رفتن و جای وداع یار آمدش　　فرونگر که چه گفتم ترا در آن صحرا
که گر بحضرت کرمان همی کشایم کام　　مروتی کن و از بند خود برآر مرا
که هرکه رفت درآن ملک وآن ولایت دید　　روی دژم بودش جان خرم از فردا
ز شهر و یار وفادار خود نیارد یاد　　که این چو باغ بهشت است وآن چو ماه سما
جواب دادم کای در فراق داشته صبر　　زمن بیابی پاداش و از خدای جزا
تو راست گفتی من در بهاری افتادم　　که بوستانش بخواند بهشت راهنما
خدایگانی دیدم که ابر دولت او　　بخاصیت بدماند شگوفه از خارا
دو سال وشش مه بوسیدم آن خجسته بساط　　که اوچو چشمهٔ روز است و آفتاب سها
بلطف خویش مرا گفت پادشاه جهان　　که ای کشاده بفرمان من زبان ثنا
همیت باز فرستم بحضرت غزنین　　مباش مشغول الا به بندگی و دعا
کنون در آنم کین ماجرا بشاه برد　　ز شهر آخرت خویش صاحب دیبا
مجیر دولت و صدر هدیٰ ظهیر ملوک　　حسین حمزه خداوند سید وزرا
بزرگوارا ز انباز بندهٔ را دریاب　　مده بخواری و حرمان بنده بیش رضا
مرا چنان ز شهنشاه خواه دستوری　　که باز گردم و باصد هزار برگ و نوا

قصیدهٔ دیگر هم دارد در مدح حسین حمزه:

ظهیر ملوک آفتاب جلالت　　مجیر دول قطب دین پیمبر
نظام کمال و کمال کفایت　　ثبات حیات و ظفر بوالمظفر
حسین آنکه صدر وزارت ز رایش　　همی نور بخشد بمهر منور[۱۳]

وهم او راقصیده ایست وازو ظاهر می شود که یکی از ملوک کرمان به هندوستان رفته بود و فتح حاصل کرده و پیشکش ها یافته. این واقعه در هیچ تاریخ به نظر در نرسیده بنابرین حوالهٔ قلم می شود[۱۴]:

ترا بشارت باد ای ولایت کرمان　　بفتح نامه شه از دیار هندستان

خدایگان سلاطین علای دولت و دین   نظام دنیا مولی الملوک شاه جهان
سپه بکشور هندوستان کشیده بغزو   برای روشن و تدبیر پیر و بخت جوان
ز بندگانش مگر بنده‌ای که بود مطیع   برو رقم زده بودند دشمنان زعیان
به پیش شاه فرستاد مال و پیل و پسر   زپاس جان گسلش زینهار خواست بجان
چورخ شاه جهان راعصای موسیٰ دید   بدست هارون گنج و خزانه کرد روان
هزار گاو ز خفتان و تیغ و خود و سپر   هزار گاو ز کافور و عود و عنبر و بان
هزار گاو ز فرش و سلاح و گوهر و زر   هزار گاو ز عطر و ظرائف الوان
بدیده بود که هم سنگ گاو بود آن گنج   ازان چوخاکش برپشت گاو کرد مکان
چهار پیل روان کرد و بار شان زر سرخ   زبیم زردی رخساره و فساد روان
خدایگان جهان جان او باو بخشید   زنور اختر عفوش نمود ظل امان

واوراقصیده ایست در مدح ارسلان شاه غزنوی:

خجسته ملک یمینی زیمن بخت جوان   بکام خویش رسید از خدایگان جهان
خرد بدید که مقصود ز آفرینش خلق   خدایگان زمین بود و پادشاه زمان
بدین امید بخشید ز ابتدا گردون   که در زمینش ملک ارسلان بود سلطان
زتخت قیصر روم و ز ملک شاه عراق   بگوش تیغ ملک شد بصد هزار زبان
که ما ز جد تو میراث مانده ایم بتو   بحق ما برس و حق مستحق برسان
ترا جهان ز دو شاه بزرگ موروثست   که یافت اسلام اندر زمان هر دو امان
یکی ز سلطان محمود سومنات کشای   یکی ز سلطان داود خالدات ستان

....

خبر رسید که اندر نواحی سنام   سر حصاری کو داشت با ستاره قران
زموج دریا سنگ بناش چون مینا   زتف مهر گل بارهاش چون مرجان
هزار سال ز باران باو زیان نرسد   اگر بجای مطر افتد از هوا سندان
برون ز کشور اسلام تا گذشته صبا   درو نبرده کس از هستی خدای گمان
ملوک را ز رسیدن بروگسسته امید   سپاه را بکشادن برو نبوده توان
بسان حلقهٔ انگشتریست بحر محیط   بگرد مرکز سیاره چون نگینهٔ آن
زیادت از دو هزار و چهار صد شهرست   بگرد او همه خوش چون بهشت با یاران

درو قرار گرفتست صد هزار سوار　　چو پیل مست و نهنگ نژند و شیر ژیان
سر ملوک جهان بر نشاط غزو براند　　بعزم نصرت اسلام و قوت ایمان
و ان یکاد همی خواند جبرئیل امین　　همی دمید بر آن پادشاه ملک ستان
حصار بستد و بت خانه را بکند و بسوخت　　زشهر و دشتش گلزار کرد آتش دان
زحلق گردان بسرشت خاک را در خون　　بقتل مردان بنشاند مرگ رابر خوان

....

زگنج ها بکشیدند وزر تنگ به تنگ　　بدان قیاس کزان آفتاب شد حیران
زبس غنیمت لشکر طریق لشکر گاه　　پر از جواهر و زر شد چو راه کاهکشان
کنون بغزنین گوهی بر آیداز آهن　　اگر بریزی زنجیر گردن ایشان
نشان خنجر مسعودیان چنین باشد　　که تا قیامت باد این نشان فتنه شان
درین زمانه همه همت ملوک زمین　　شکار و گوی و سماع ابست و باده و بستان
همیشه پیشه سلطان اعظم این بوده است　　بغزو تاختن و خط کردن قرآن
گهی فرستد خلعت بقبلهٔ تازی　　گهی بسوزد بت را بقلعهٔ دهقان

نیز اورا قصیده هاست در مدح شهنشاه تولی[15]:

شاهنشه تولی[16] عضد دولت عالی　　شاهی که جهان را براو هیچ خطر نیست

ودیگر:

شاهنشه تولی[17] که خرد رسم نوبر داشت　　تا نقش بدان از صفت خویش بیفکند
این بیت که استاد نجم گفت برین وزن　　[نهار بدین حسب همی شاید مانند]
ای جان همه عالم در جان تو پیوند　　مکروه تو مارا منما یاد خداوند

وهم از وست:

خونابه شدست این دلم ازدرد و لیکن　　خورسندیم از دولت شاهنشه تویست[18]

وهم درین معنی گفته:

بازوی دولت معین الدین فنا[19] خسرو که هست　　حد شمشیرش قبای خسروان روزگار
شمس ملت شاه شاهنشاه تولی آنکه هست　　بوی خلق ونور رایش مشک وشمس روزگار
بدر امت، میرمیران، آنکه خورشید از فلک　　چون هلال آید بخدمت پیش تختش زود بار
زان شهان خویش خواند اورا امیر المومنین　　کو برآورد از سر دیوان مستنصر دمار

ساخت رمحش پوست را بر قالب ملحد قفس   کرد کلکش چشم را بر دیدهٔ مشرک حصار

....

دین و دولت را عظیم اصلست اندر تیغ تو ،   شاد باش ای از عظیم الدوله دین را یادگار

....

خسروا سالی مرا فرمودهٔ کاین جا تو باش   تا چنانت باز گردانم که گردی کامگار

ونیز مختاری قصیدهٔ دارد در مدح تاج[20] الدین والی نیم روز. چنانچه اوراست:

پاد شاه نصرت بوالفتح شاه نیمروز   آنکه هر شب خاک درگاهش به علیین برند
من سرش گردم بدان کو اندرین کرد . . .   کش کمر بندند و پیش تخت تاج الدین برند

دهم قصیدهٔ دیگر دارد در مدح این تاج الدین:

تو آن بلند نظر خسروی که قوت عدل   زبیستان برسانیدهٔ بدریا بار
همی ملوک نویسند بر سبیل شگفت   بیک دگر زپس و پیش از یمین و یسار
که تاج دین ملک نیمروز نصرت خلق   بدست و تیغ جهان را قرار داد قرار
بت از نهیب تو بشکست رای در قنوج   زبیم قیصر در روم بگسلد زنار

وقصیدهٔ در مدح شاهزاده میر شاهنشه[21] دارد و در آن چیزی درباب ضرورت شعرا که پادشاهان را باشد نوشته وگفته:

خسروان را سپهر زیر هواست   رسم شاهان ز بندگان پیدا ست
شعر پیرایهٔ ملوک زمیست   زانکه تابنده چون بنجوم سماست
در ستایش طفیل شاهانش   هرچه اندر جهان سزای ثناست
تا نکردند تربیت ملکان   که توانست قطعهٔ پیراست
تنگ دستی و دونی شعرا   جان ازین صنعت شریف بکاست
گرچه مردم ز عمر برگذرست   عمر ثانی مدایح شعرا است
زنده رستم بشعر فردوسی است   ورنه زو در جهان نشانه کجاست
عنصری را ز زر محمودی   آنچنان شعر های بیش بهاست
غرض از آفرینش شعرا   مدحت پادشاه باشد راست
جان گدازیست شاعری کردن   چون بها دانش بصله سزاست
شعر پروردن و عطا دادن   پیشهٔ شاه و شاهزادهٔ ماست

میر شاهنشه آنکه خاطر او آسمان قدر و آفتاب ضیاست

وهم در عذر خطائی درین قصیده می گوید:

هم توداني که بنده مختاری مادحی سهم و شاعری والاست
درجهان خدمت تو بابت اوست در جهاں مدح او ترا زیباست
خاطر و شعر او چو خط علیست معنی و لفظ او چو طبع کیاست
تو خداوند ابری او صدف است تو امیر آفتابی او حرباست
بنده داندکه پیش صدر ملوک چند کار است کان ثواب و خطاست
فکند هرچه آن نباید کرد لیک بر آفریده سهو و خطاست
عذر اورا قبول باید کرد عذر او نیز ازو بباید خواست
وگر آید خطائی از بنده پاسبان از در هزار قفاست

ونیز اوراست در مدح شرف الملک[۲۲]:

از درج در صافی تا قیمت صدف بیش است بر جهان شرف الملک را شرف
من در عراق و کرمان بسیار دیده ام احراز نغز بذله و انفاس برطرف
بر خیره نیست ملک سمرقند ازو شریف بیهوده نیست شاه جهان را براو خلف
برگس چو تو ندیدم کافزون بودهی هر ساعتی به بذله او روح را شرف
ای پیشوای ...... طمغاج خان برای وی پیشگاه زمرهٔ آزادگان بکف

مختاری قصیدها دارد در مدح عمید محمود[۲۳] مدیدالملک طمغاج خان:

بگوی پیش سمرقندیان چنین کز تو گران کنند دل قبلهٔ اولی الالباب
سریر دولت طمغاج خان مدید ملک عمید مطلق محمود سید الکتاب
مدبری که دل اوست ملک راقبله موفقی که در اوست خلق را محراب

وهم درجای دیگر گفته[۲۴]:

خدای داد دو ملک تمام را دو نظام یکی جلال وزیران یکی رضی امام
یکی بخدمت سلجوقیان رسیده بفر یکی بدولت طمغاج خان رسیده بکام
همیشه ملک خراسان بران مقوم بود چنانکه ملک سمرقند ازین گرفت قوام
همه جلال خراسان و ماور النهر ز بوعلی نظام آمد و علی نظام
بدان ستوده همه دودهٔ سحابی فخر وزین گرفته همه گوهر خطیبی نام

عثمان قصیدهٔ دارد در مدح مسعود سعد سلمان[۲۵]:

بر اهل سخن تنگ ماند میدان　　وز جای بشد پای هر سخن دان
هر طبع که بر بحر بود قادر　　از عجز چو مسحور گشت حیران
چون جزو کل باز شد معانی　　زی خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان
مخدوم سخن پروران مجلس　　سردفتر خوان گستران میدان
در تاج سخن کان خاطر او　　هر لحظه جواهر فشاند الوان
در باغ بهار ثنای خسرو　　شعرش گل و طبعش هزار دستان
از کفر همه هند صاف کردی　　زان گوهر صافی چو نور ایمان
خورشیدی و ماهی بصدر مجلس　　بهرامی و تیری ببزم دیوان
هم صاحب عباد روزگاری　　هم رستم زال زری بدستان
اشعار ترا در جهان گرفتن　　دادند اثر خاتم سلیمان
آنر از بیان چنان زمعنی　　دانستن و گفتن و خوان نتوان
درجمله شد آتش شکوهت　　طبع شعرا چون شرر پریشان
ای طبع تو از لطف رشک حورا　　وی نفس تو از فضل فخر انسان
دانسته ام که ز احوال اهل حضرت　　دانسته و دیده هم فراوان
کز گوهر و دیبای لفظ و معنی　　سفت همه بی زیورست و عریان
زیرا دل پر درد شاعران را　　بینند و نبینند راه درمان
ور نظم طراز آفتاب گردد　　نه بیند شان سایه بان و ایوان
هم طمع شاعران نبودی　　برخواستی امید رزق دربان
وبحک سخن خود چرا نگویم　　من بی خبر ژاژ خای کشخان
طبعم چو بهار است و من همیشه　　بی برگ تر از شاخ در زمستان
وز نام من اندر جهان نبودی　　در طبع نبودی سرشته نسیان
بی روی ازانم که همچو آبا　　بی شرمی ناموختم ز اخوان
برصبح نباشم نشسته بر در　　برشام نخواهم رسید بر خوان
گر تربیتی یابم از بزرگی　　در شهر یکی گردم از بزرگان
بیرون نتوان شد ز حد قسمت　　شو گرد فضولی مگرد عثمان

بسیار غم دل مگوی شعرت بنویس و به پیش خواجه بر خوان

واورا دو قصیده است در تعریف اسعدی[26] (خواجه حکیم حسن):

یگانه اسعدی آن مقتدای اهل هنر که محترم بکمال است و محتشم بسخن
به نظم و نثر کسانی که زیر دست تواند سخنوران جهانند و شاعران زمن
ستودنت بچنین طبع و این هنر باید بصید شیر عرین تاختن براسپ عرن
به بسته بود سخن بر من از ستایش خلق گرفته بود مرا دل ز شاعری کردن
ولیک طبع بدین باز میل کرد دلی بجان در آید خوی فروشده بلبن
بشاعری باز افتتاح کردم ازان که قیمت سخن خوش تودانی از هرفن
ملک نجسته شود برمن از مروت تو بشعر گفتن باز ابتدا نهادن من
ربودی میوه و میوه خوشست در گوهر درخت چون سخن خواجهٔ حکیم حسن

و در قصیدهٔ دیگر گوید[27]:

خنجر ملک تیغ باشد باگر قلم اسعدیست خنجر تیغ
آنکه اندر زمان پدید آید گوهر او بسان گوهر تیغ
حسن آن کو همی بسحر قلم دور دارد ز سرّ جان سر تیغ

او قصیدهٔ دارد در مدح شاه مظفر:

خورشید ملت و دل و داد مغیث[28] دین بازوی دولت و سر شاهان کامران
شاهنشه مظفر و دارای بحر و بر پیرایهٔ زمانه و مخدوم انس و جان

وهم ازوست:

مرا گفت این خبر داری که ناگاه خداوندم ترا شاه[29] مظفر
مقابل داشت با گردون گردان برابر کرد با خورشید ازهر

واوهم قصیدهٔ دارد در مدح شاه اسفند[30]یار:

خوانده شب و روز براهل هنر مدحت شاهنشه اسفندیار
صدر خداوندان سلطان ملک فخر جهان و شرف روزگار
آنکه ز شاهان جهان تابه حشر مانده بشاهان جهان یادگار
ای ز دو جانب پدران تو شاه تا تو ز آدم ملک و شهریار

واورا قصیده هاست در مدح وزیر الوزرا یوسف بن یعقوب، چنانکه می فرماید:

به زره ماه سما را چه نیاز آید اگر — سرفرازی نکند رحم وزیرالوزرا
صاحب دنیا آن مهر کف چرغ محل — یوسف یعقوب آن بحر دل ابر عطا
سحر گردد چو شود شعر بنام تو تمام — روح یابد چو کند کلک ثنای تو ادا
منم آورده و پرورده و کس کردهٔ تو — داغ اقبال تو برمن ز میان شعرا
بگذرانیدم و خواهم گذرانید بسی — روزها را به ثنای تو و شب ها بدعا

ودیگر[۳۱]:

دولت عالی بکام صدر اجل باد — مملکت از رای او بلند محل
یوسف یعقوب صاحبی که فلک را — همت او اختر عجب باد عمل

وازوست:

نام تو یوسف آمده درحسن رای تو — کردی بحسن چهره وهم نام نام ملک
چون دولت تو مرتبت ملک برفزود — آمد بگوش دولت عالی پیام ملک
کایزد دو یوسف از دو گروه اختیار کرد — بر مقتضای قوت دین و قوام ملک
آن ر القب نهاد بمغرب عزیز مصر — دین را خطاب کرد بمغرب نظام ملک

ودیگر:

یوسف یعقوب آن اصل کرم قبله ملک — صاحب عادل شمس الوزرا قطب الدین

ودیگر:

نظام ملک ابوالفتح یوسف یعقوب — که هست نامش برنامهٔ شرف عنوان
قوام دولت و صدر هدی ظهیر ملوک — سرکفایت و بازوی عقل و پشت امان

واوراقصیده هاست درمدح خواجه ابوالفتح مظفر[۳۲]:

در باغ دل خواجه ابوالفتح مظفر — بشگفت گل فتح و به شم ظفر آمد
وان خواجه محمد که حیات اهل ماست — دردیدهٔ امید حیاتش بصر آمد
وان را که دودستش پدرومادر جود است — باطالع فرخنده همایون پسر آمد
بی بار نشایست همانا پدر او — آن بار همه شادی مادر پدر آمد
حالش همه چون نام شه دادگر آید — چون کنیتش از نام شه دادگر آمد

دیگر:

جهان غنی شده گوید همی به مختاری — ابو المظفر بو الفتح کار دان آید

زغفلت فضلا رفته بود جان هنر — همی بسی تو اکنون ازان جهان آید
زخان و مان خود اکنون برفت بندهٔ تو — خدای داند تا کی به خان و مان آید
چو برگ خانه و فرزند او تو خواهی ساخت — کی اش کنون غم اسباب این و آن آید

دیگر:

کسی کش دولت بو الفتح مسعود بنوازد — اگر شمشیر بارد ابر ، باد اورا سپر گردد
مظفر آن که چون گیرد زبانم دردهان نامش — همه دندانهای من بزیر لب شکر گردد

دیگر:

اجل بوالفتح مسعود آن سر مجد و خداوندی — که زیر پای قدر او شمرده شد سر محور

دیگر:

سپهر اهل هنر بوالمظفر بوالفتح — که آن و جان صغار است و آب و جاه کبار

دیگر:

در کنف جود ابوالمظفر بو الفتح — ای بسخا نحوی و نام پیمبر
مهتر و مخدوم خواجگان مقدم — معتمد ملک پادشاه مظفر
من به ثنای تو زان فروخته ام جان — زانکه ندیدم به از تو هیچ ثنا گر
گر بضرورت سه سال پیش من افتاد — راه طویل از برای زر مدوّر
نان من از بنده زاد گان بچه معنی — دفع شدی مدح جوی مادح پرور
داد من از جود خود بخواه درین باب — هم تو گوا باش هم تو خصم و تو داور
ورنه تو بر مقتضای عدل کنی حکم — باز من و رخت بستن و سفر و ضر

دیگر:

بوالفتح بافتوح مظفر که چون ظفر — برکام دل بسعی هنر گشت کامگار
سردفتر صدور خداوند اهل فضل — طبع بزرگواری و ترکیب افتخار

دیگر:

قاعده فتح بوالمظفر بوالفتح — آن بشرف صدر و بدر مجلس و ایوان
مفخر ارباب علم حضرت غزنین — سرزنش اهل فضل ملک خراسان

درمدح محمد ابن خطیب[۱۳] گفته:

نظام و اصل محامد محمد ابن خطیب — که محمدت زخطابش گرفته دست زفر

به هند و سند بر تاختن چو ابر بهار — بجای آب همی خون برانی اندر جر
هوای شرق بزیر غبار مرکب تست — ازان بشرق فروتر بود خسوف قمر
درین ولایت رمی نهاد خنجر تو — که هرکه راه زدی راه دار گشت ایدر
همان دیار مخوف است کاندرو روباه — شکار بستدی از چنگ شیر شرزهٔ نر
کنون ز خنجر نیلوفرت ازان ترسد — که طشت پرزر برسر نهند چون عبهر
نه بر گزاف شه نیک روز کشور گیر — همی دهد بتو هر روز بهری از کشور
ترا معالی سند تهنیت چکنم — که از هنر که شدست از تودر زمانه سمر
همه ممالک مشرق سپرده گیر بتو — چو هند بر تو نوشتند سند را چه خبر
بزرگوارا عشق مروت تو مرا — فراق مادر و معشوق کرد و هجر پدر

....

[وودر مدح سلطان ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود غزنوی گوید[۲۴]]

سلطان دولت و سبب چرخ چیره دست — برهان ملت و شرف ملک نامدار
سلطان ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان که داشت — از بهر او خدای جهان رادر انتظار
روز جلوس دولت او بر سریر ملک — بگرفت مشتری گهر چرخ را غبار
ای آفتاب سایه و رای تو آفتاب — ای ذوالفقار پیشه و عزم تو ذوالفقار
در چار شنبه و ششم مه نشاندت — بر تخت مملکت عرضی داشت روزگار
یعنی که چار گوهر و شش جانب جهان — هفت آسمان ز مهر تو پرورد درکنار
وین چار و شش همی نپذیرفت خصم را — زین روی هیچ حاجت ناید بکار زار
شوال گرچه از رمضان کمتر ست ، بود — بهتر ز عمر دنیا شوال سال پار

☆☆☆☆☆

حواشی

۱۔ اس بارے میں شیرانی صاحب نے آگے چل کر لکھا تھا: ''ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ دولت شاہ نے دو مختلف شاعروں کے مصرعوں سے اپنا مطلع تیار کر کے مختاری کے حوالے کر دیا ہے۔ مثلاً دوسرا مصرع شہاب الدین ادیب صابر کے ہاں ملتا ہے۔ چنانچہ:

دلم عاشق شدن فرمود و من برحکم فرمانش
در اقدام بدان دردی کہ پیدا نیست درمانش''

(مقالات حافظ محمود شیرانی، جلد ششم، صفحہ ۸۳)

دیوان صابر مرتبہ علی قویم، طبع طہران میں یہ قصیدہ صفحہ ۱۴۲ پر موجود ہے اور اس کا عنوان ہے: ''درثنای مجد الدین ابوالقاسم بن جعفر قدامہ''۔

۲۔ یہ قصیدہ دیوان مختاری، طبع ایران، مرتبہ رکن الدین و ہمایوں فرخ میں صفحہ ۱۷۴ پر ملتا ہے: مسلمان کردن آئین کرد چشم نا مسلمانش...... الخ۔ ظاہر ہے کہ شیرانی صاحب کے ''مسلمان کشتن'' کی جگہ ''مسلمان کردن'' بالکل غیر موزوں ہے۔

۳۔ مرتبین طبع ایران نے قصیدے کا عنوان یہ دیا ہے ''مدح سلطان مسعود بن ابراہیم و حکیم سنائی غزنوی'' لیکن شیرانی صاحب کا کہنا ہے کہ اس قصیدے کا سلطان مسعود سے کوئی تعلق نہیں بلکہ یہ محمود روباہی کی تعریف میں ہے۔ خود دیوان مختاری (ایران) میں اس قصیدے میں یہ اشعار موجود ہیں:

بجان تو کہ از یاد تو خالی سازمی تن را
اگر محمود روباہی بہ صحبت نیستی جانش

اور:

مرا چون نامہ در محشر بدست پر گناہ آید
ہر آن نامہ کہ جز محمود روباہی است عنوانش

اور:

تو آن روباہیی کز تو اگر شیری امان خواہد
نخست افگندن دندان و چنگال است پیمانش

تعجب ہے کہ مرتبین دیوان نے ان اشعار پر مطلق توجہ نہیں دی اور محض ایک نسخے میں پائے جانے

والے ایک الحاقی شعر یعنی:

دگر بار آن ملک مسعود ابراہیم دین پرور
خرامد باز ہند از بہر غزو دین یزدانش

کی بنا پر یہ قصیدہ سلطان مسعود بن ابراہیم کو بخش دیا۔

۴۔ طبع ایران میں یہ قصیدہ حسب روایات تذکرہ نویساں سلطان ابراہیم بن مسعود غزنوی کی مدح میں بتایا گیا ہے (صفحہ ۳۳۱)۔ لطف یہ ہے کہ اس کے کسی شعر میں سلطان ابراہیم مذکور کا نام صراحت کے ساتھ نہیں آیا سوائے شیرانی صاحب کے درج کردہ اس شعر کے:

گو ز بدحالی میندیش و ز بی برگی مترس
جان شاہنشاہ سلطان شاہ ابراہیم خواہ

جو بقول ان کے سلطان شاہ (ابراہیم سلجوقی) والی کرمان کے لئے آیا ہے۔

۵۔ دیوان مختاری طبع ایران میں یہ قصیدہ شامل نہیں ہے البتہ اس قصیدہ سے ذرا مختلف الوزن، دیوان کا پہلا قصیدہ ہے جس پر کوئی عنوان نہیں دیا۔ اس میں یہ شعر آتا ہے:

شاہنشہ سلطان شہ آن بزرگی
کو ماہ سپہرست گاہ و زین را

۶۔ مرتبین دیوان نے سلطان علاء الدین مسعود کی مدح میں مختاری کے چار قصائد دیے ہیں۔ ایک تو یہی جو شیرانی صاحب بتا رہے ہیں۔ دوسرا وہ جو دراصل محمود روباہی کی مدح میں ہے اور جس کا ذکر حاشیہ نمبر ۳ میں آچکا ہے۔ تیسرا قصیدہ دراصل کرمان کے کسی سلجوقی سلطان کے بارے میں ہے جس پر آگے گفتگو کی جائے گی۔ چوتھا قصیدہ بھی مشکوک ہے جس کا مطلع ہے:

ھمی دولت و ملک و کلک و حسام
بہ فرّ خداوند گیرد نظام (صفحہ ۲۳۷)

۷۔ دیوان مختاری (طبع ایران) میں سلطان ارسلان شاہ غزنوی کی مدح میں ۲۵ قصائد ملتے ہیں۔

۸۔ ارسلان شاہ کی ہفت سالہ سلطنت والی روایت درست نہیں۔ بقول لین پول اس نے سنہ ۵۰۹ سے ۵۱۲ھ تک حکومت کی ہے۔

۹۔ دیوان مختاری (مطبوعہ) میں بھی بہرام شاہ غزنوی کی مدح میں صرف یہی ایک قصیدہ دیا گیا ہے۔ اس کا مطلع ہے:

شادباش ای کعبه کے خسروان روزگار
دیرزی ای قبلۂ اسکندران تاجدار

۱۰۔ یہ تینوں شعر با ادنیٰ تفاوت دیوان مطبوعہ کے صفحہ ۲۵۶ پر موجود ہیں۔

۱۱۔ سلطان ابوالحارث ارسلان شاہ سلجوقی والی کرمان کی مدح میں شیرانی صاحب نے مختاری کے جن تین قصائد کا ذکر یہاں کیا ہے وہ بالترتیب دیوان مطبوعہ ایران کے صفحات ۱۵،۴، ۲۷ اور ۳۱۳ پر دیکھے جا سکتے ہیں۔

۱۲۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں یہ قصیدہ صفحات ۱۲۔۱۴ پر ملتا ہے۔

۱۳۔ یہ قصیدہ دیوان مطبوعہ کے صفحات ۱۴۵ تا ۱۴۷ پر ملتا ہے اور اس پر مرتبین دیوان نے یہ حاشیہ دیا ہے: ''در'ق' ثبت است و در سایر نسخ نبود کہ مقابلہ شود۔ تصحیح قیاسی شدہ است''۔ شیرانی صاحب کے دیے ہوئے تینوں شعر اس قصیدے میں ۳،۴ اور ۵ ویں نمبر پر موجود ہیں۔ درمیانے شعر میں کنیت بوالمظفر آنے کی وجہ سے مرتبین نے اسے در ''مدح خواجہ بوالمظفر بوالفتح'' بتایا ہے اور تیسرے شعر کے پہلے لفظ 'حسین' کو درخور اعتنا نہیں سمجھا نہ ہی حسین حمزہ کے خطابات ظہیر ملوک، مجیر دول (مجیر دولت) اور قطب الدین پر کوئی توجہ دی ہے جو زیر نظر قصیدہ کے علاوہ اس سے پہلے قصیدے میں بھی آئے ہیں۔ رہی کنیت ابوالمظفر کی بات تو یہ اس دور کی نہایت مقبول کنیت ہے اور ممکن ہے کہ حسین حمزہ سیدالوزراؑ کی بھی یہی کنیت ہو۔

۱۴۔ شیرانی صاحب نے نہایت اہم تاریخی اطلاع فراہم کی ہے۔ قصیدہ کے مطلع میں ''ولایت کرمان'' کو ''دیار ہندوستان'' سے ''فتح نامۂ شاہ'' کی خوشخبری دی گئی ہے لیکن مرتبین دیوان نے آنکھ بند کر کے اس قصیدہ کو سلطان علاء الدین مسعود بن ابراہیم غزنوی کے کھاتے میں ڈال دیا ہے حالانکہ غزنی اور کرمان دو مختلف سلطنتیں تھیں جن میں رقابت کے آثار بھی ملتے ہیں۔ چنانچہ غزنویوں کی فتح ہند پر کرمان کو بشارت دینے کی کوئی تک نہیں بنتی۔ مرتبین دیوان سے غلطی یہ ہوئی کہ انہوں نے اس قصیدہ کو مختاری کے اسی زمین میں ایک اور قصیدے سے جو ارسلان شاہ غزنوی کی مدح میں ہے خلط ملط کر دیا ہے۔ اس کا مطلع ہے:

خجستہ ملک یمینی زمین ملک جوان
بکام خویش رسید از خدایگان جہان

چنانچہ اس قصیدے کے متعدد اشعار مثلاً:

خبر رسید کہ اندر نواحی سنام
سر حصاری کو داشت باستارہ قران

معمولی فرق کے ساتھ کرمان والے قصیدے میں شامل کر دیئے ہیں۔ لطف یہ ہے کہ مندرجہ ذیل دو شعر دونوں قصیدوں میں ملتے ہیں:

ترا جہان ز دو شاہ بزرگ موروث است
کہ یافت اسلام اندر زمان ھر دو امان
یکی ز سلطان محمود سومنات کشای
یکی ز سلطان داؤد خالدات ستان

اور اس موقع پر حاشیہ دیتے ہیں: ''این دو بیت در قصیدہ قبل نیز آمدہ است و معلوم نیست تعلق باین قصیدہ داشتہ کہ در قصیدہ قبل ھم آمدہ......''

۱۵۔ مختاری نے بعض سلاطین خاقانیہ ماورالنہر کی مدح میں بھی قصائد لکھے ہیں۔ یہ خاندان آل خاقان، ایلک خانی، آل افراسیاب یا افراسیابی بھی کہلاتا تھا۔ ان کے چھوٹے چھوٹے بہت سے سلاطین ماورالنہر میں چوتھی صدی ہجری سے ساتویں صدی ہجری کے آغاز تک حکمراں رہے ہیں۔ ان کے بارے میں تاریخی معلومات بہت کم ہیں حتی کہ ان سب کے ناموں سے بھی واقف ہونا ممکن نہیں۔ شیرانی صاحب نے ''شہنشاہ توئی'' کو غالباً انہی فرماں رواؤں میں سے ایک سمجھا ہے۔

۱۶۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں پہلا مصرع یوں ہے: شاھنشہ بویہ عضد الدولہ عالی اور حاشیہ میں ''بویہ'' کی جگہ ایک قرات ''تو ئین'' دی ہے (صفحہ ۳۰)۔

۱۷۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں یہ قصیدہ موجود نہیں ہے۔

۱۸۔ یہ قصیدہ بھی مطبوعہ دیوان میں نظر نہیں آتا۔

۱۹۔ ''فنا خسرو'' کی ترکیب سمجھ میں نہیں آئی۔ مرتبین دیوان مختاری مطبوعہ ایران کے نزدیک یہ لقب ہے سلطان مسعود بن ابراہیم غزنوی کے بیٹے عضدالدولہ شیرزاد کا جو سلطان سنجر سلجوقی کا بھانجا تھا۔ شیرزاد اپنے باپ کی وفات پر ایک مختصر عرصے کے لئے بادشاہ بنا تاہم اس کے بھائی ارسلان شاہ نے اسے قتل کر کے تخت غزنی پر قبضہ کر لیا۔ دیوان مطبوعہ کے مرتبین نے شیرزاد کی مدح میں مختاری کے پانچ قصیدے دیئے ہیں جو اس کے مختصر دور حکومت (۵۰۹۔۵۰۸ھ) کو دیکھتے ہوئے زیادہ معلوم ہوتے ہیں۔ لطف یہ ہے کہ مرتبین دیوان نے اس سلطان کا لقب قصائد کے عنوانات میں عضدالدولہ دیا ہے۔ لین پول اس کا لقب کمال الدولہ لکھتا ہے۔ دوسرا خطاب شیرانی صاحب والے

شعر میں معین الدین ہے جو مطبوعہ دیوان کے شعر میں مغیث الدین بن گیا ہے یعنی ع:

بازوی دولت مغیث الدین فنا خسرو کہ ہست

اور حاشیہ میں ایک مخطوطے کے حوالے سے ''پوئی'' کی جگہ ''توران'' دیا گیا ہے۔ دیوان کے مقدمہ میں مرتبین نے ''عضدالدولہ شیرزاد فنا خسرو'' کے عنوان کے تحت ایک طویل بحث کی ہے اور لفظ ''پویہ'' و ''پوئی'' کے بارے میں بتایا ہے کہ یہ ہندوستان کے کسی شہر کا نام ہوگا۔ اول تو اس نام کا یا اس سے ملتا جلتا کوئی شہر غزنوی دور کے ہندوستان میں معلوم نہیں۔ دوسرے ایک مجہول شہر کے نام پر ''شہنشاہ پوئی'' کا لقب جو شاعر کئی قصائد میں لا رہا ہے، عجیب معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ شیرانی صاحب نے اس قصیدے کے جو اشعار نقل کئے ہیں ان میں سے چھٹے شعر میں دوسرا مصرع ہے:

شاد باش ای از عظیم الدولہ دین را یادگار

یہ مصرع مطبوعہ دیوان کے صفحہ ۱۵۲ پر ملتا ہے۔ لیکن اگر بقول مرتبین دیوان یہ قصیدہ ''سلطان مغیث الدین عضدالدولہ شیرزاد فنا خسرو'' کی مدح میں ہے تو اس کے بزرگوں میں یہ عظیم الدولہ کون ہے؟ سلاطین غزنویہ میں اس نام یا خطاب کا حامل کوئی بادشاہ ہمیں معلوم نہیں۔ بہر حال یہ ساری بحث گونگے کے خواب کی حیثیت رکھتی ہے۔ تا وقتے کہ اس ضمن میں تازہ معلومات حاصل نہ ہوں۔

۲۰۔ شیرانی صاحب اس والی کا نام تاج الدین دیتے ہیں اور اس کی مدح میں مختاری کے دو قصائد کا ذکر کرتے ہیں۔ پہلے قصیدے میں تاج الدین کا نام دوسرے شعر میں اور اس کی کنیت ابوالفتح پہلے شعر میں آتی ہے۔ دوسرے قصیدے میں صرف نام تاج دین آیا ہے۔ یہی دونوں قصیدے مطبوعہ دیوان میں بھی ملتے ہیں (صفحہ ۵۰ و صفحہ ۱۲۳)۔ دونوں کے عنوان میں اس کا نام تاج الدین کے بجائے نصر بن خلف دیا گیا ہے۔ حالانکہ قصائد کے اندر تاج الدین موجود ہے۔ مقدمے میں مرتبین نے تاج الدین کے باپ کا نام امیر طاہر بتایا ہے۔ راوندی کی ''راحت الصدور'' سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سلطان سنجر سلجوقی نے سنہ ۵۲۴ھ میں ملک سیستان فتح کر کے ''تاج الدین امیر ابو الفضل'' کو نیمروز کا حاکم مقرر کیا (مرتبہ پروفیسر محمد اقبال، لندن، ۱۹۲۱ء)۔ راوندی کے ہاں اس کا نام نصر بن خلف کہیں نہیں ملتا۔ مرتبین دیوان بھی اس نام کا ماخذ نہیں بتاتے۔ ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ انہوں نے دونوں قصیدوں کے بعض اشعار کے پڑھنے میں غلطی کی ہے۔ چنانچہ پہلے قصیدے سے شیرانی صاحب کے مصرع:

پادشاہ نصرت بوالفتح شاہ نیمروز

اور دوسرے قصیدے سے شیرانی صاحب کے نقل کردہ مصرع:

که تاج دین ملک نیمروز نصرت خلق

کو دیوان میں بدین الفاظ ثبت کیا گیا ہے:

که تاج دین ملک نیمروز نصر خلف

نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ انہوں نے اصل نام تاج الدین کو پس پشت ڈال کر ایک مصنوعی نام نصر بن خلف اختیار کر لیا۔

۲۱۔ مطبوعہ دیوان مین اس قصیدہ کا عنوان ''ارج شعر و شاعری'' دیا ہے۔ گو اس میں ''میر شاهنشه'' کے نام والا شعر موجود ہے تاہم اس کی شخصیت پر کوئی روشنی نہیں ڈالی۔

۲۲۔ یہ شرف الملک، فرماں روائے سمرقند (غالباً طمغاج خان) کا وزیر معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں ''طمغاج خان'' والا شعر نہیں ملتا۔

۲۳۔ عمید محمود سید الکتاب کا تعلق یقیناً خان طمغاج کے دربار سے ہے۔ بدقسمتی سے مطبوعہ دیوان میں یہ شعر نہیں ہے۔ اسی لئے مرتبین نے اس کا عنوان ''ماه من و ماه روزه'' دینے پر اکتفا کی ہے۔

۲۴۔ شیرانی صاحب کے اس جملے سے مترشح ہوتا ہے کہ وہ اس دوسرے قصیدے کو بھی عمید محمود کاتب کی مدح میں سمجھتے ہیں لیکن بظاہر معاملہ شک سے خالی نہیں۔ دوسرا قصیدہ کسی رضی امام کی تعریف میں ہے جو طمغاج خاں والی سمرقند کا وزیر ہے اور جس کا، شاعر، مشہور وزیر سلاجقہ نظام الملک طوسی سے مقابلہ کر رہا ہے۔ ''دو نظام'' سے اندازہ ہوتا ہے کہ اس دوسرے وزیر کا خطاب بھی نظام الملک ہے چنانچہ مرتبین دیوان مطبوعہ نے اس قصیدے کو یہ عنوان دیا ہے: ''مدح خواجہ نظام الملک از وزرای ملوک خانیہ (آل افراسیابی ماوراء النہر)''۔ مرتبین کو اس قصیدے کے صرف چار شعر دستیاب ہوئے جن میں سے پہلے دو، شیرانی صاحب کے درج کردہ دو ابتدائی اشعار کے ساتھ مشترک ہیں۔ ہوسکتا ہے کہ شیرانی صاحب کے سامنے مکمل قصیدہ ہو اور اس کے کسی شعر سے معلوم ہوتا ہو کہ عمید محمود سید الکتاب اور یہ خواجہ نظام الملک (رضی امام) ایک ہی شخصیت ہے۔

۲۵۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں یہ قصیدہ ۸۸ ابیات پر مشتمل ہے۔

۲۶۔ دیوان مطبوعہ میں اس قصیدے کا عنوان ہے: ''وصف مهرگان و مدح خواجہ اسعدی یکی از سخن وران نامی معاصر مختاری''۔

۲۷۔ مرتبین دیوان مطبوعہ نے اس قصیدے پر یہ عنوان دیا ہے: ''وصف قلم و برتری آن بر تیغ و مدح خواجہ مسعود سعد سلمان و پاسخ بہ قصیدہ او''۔ لیکن مقدمہ میں تصحیح کرتے ہوئے کہتے ہیں: ''اشتباهاً درمتن دیوان مختاری بجای خواجہ اسعدی خواجہ مسعود سعد سلمان چاپ شده است''۔

۲۸۔ خطاب ''مغیث الدین'' کی بنا پر مرتبین دیوان نے یہ قصیدہ ''مغیث الدین، عضد الدولہ شیرزاد (فنا خسرو)'' کے نام منسوب کیا ہے۔

۲۹۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں اس قصیدہ کا عنوان ہے: ''مدح خواجہ عبید اللہ ابو طاہر''۔

۳۰۔ یہ قصیدہ مطبوعہ دیوان میں موجود نہیں ہے۔

۳۱۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں یہ قصیدہ نظر نہیں آیا۔

۳۲۔ مرتبین دیوان مطبوعہ کے مطابق یہ سلطان ارسلان غزنوی کا وزیر تھا۔ مطبوعہ دیوان میں اس کی مدح میں مختاری کے ایک درجن کے قریب قصائد ملتے ہیں۔

۳۳۔ سرہنگ محمد ابن خطیب سلطان مسعود بن ابراہیم غزنوی کے امرا میں تھا۔ قزدار کا عامل بھی رہا۔ حکیم سنائی اور مسعود سعد سلمان نے بھی اس کی مدح میں قصیدے لکھے ہیں۔

۳۴۔ اس قصیدے کا ذکر اوپر سلطان ارسلان شاہ غزنوی کے قصائد کے ضمن میں آ چکا ہے۔ یہاں یہ اشعار شاید اس لئے دیئے گئے ہیں کہ ان سے سلطان موصوف کی تخت نشینی کی تاریخ پر روشنی پڑتی ہے۔ پانچویں شعر سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ بدھ کا دن اور چھٹی تاریخ تھی۔ آخری شعر سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ مہینہ شوال کا تھا۔ کیونکہ یہ گذشتہ سال کے شوال کا ذکر ہے اس لئے یہ قصیدہ سنہ ۵۱۰ھ میں کہا گیا ہوگا۔ ارسلان شاہ سنہ ۵۰۹ھ میں تخت پر بیٹھا تھا۔

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خطاباتِ سلاطینِ غزنوی بر سکّہ

سلطان محمود: سیف الدولہ محمود، الامیر یمین الدولہ امین الملت، نظام الدین، ملک الممالک، ملک الملوک۔

سلطان محمد: جمال الدولہ و جمال الملۃ محمد بن محمود، یمین الدولہ و امین الملۃ نظام الدین ابوالقاسم محمد بن محمود، القادر باللہ۔

سلطان مسعود: سلطان المعظم ملک العالم، ناصر دین اللہ حافظ عباد اللہ ظہیر خلیفۃ اللہ، ناصر دین اللہ ابوسعید مسعود بن محمود، ناصر دین اللہ حافظ عباد اللہ القادر باللہ، قایم بامراللہ۔

سلطان مودود: شہاب الدین وقطب الملۃ، ابوالفتح فخر الملۃ، قایم بامراللہ۔

سلطان عبدالرشید: عزالدولہ امین الملۃ، شرف اللہ، قایم بامراللہ۔

سلطان فرخ زاد: فرخ زاد بن مسعود، جمال الدولہ وکمال الملۃ، ابوشجاع، قایم بامراللہ۔

سلطان ابراہیم: ابراہیم بن مسعود، ابومظفر ابراہیم، سلطان اعظم، ظہیر الدولہ، نصیر الدولہ ظہیر الملۃ، قاہرالملک سید السلاطین، قائم بامراللہ۔

سلطان مسعود ثانی[1]: ابو سعد، سلطان الاعظم، سلطان العادل، علاءالدولہ و ثنا الملۃ، ظہیر الاسلام، نظام الدین، مولیٰ السلاطین، المستظہر باللہ۔

سلطان ارسلان: سلطان اعظم، سلطان الدولہ ملک ارسلان بن مسعود، مستظہر باللہ۔

بہرام شاہ: یمین الدولہ سلطان اعظم بہرام شاہ، المسترشد باللہ۔

خسرو شاہ: السلطان اعظم معزالدولہ، مکتفی الامراللہ۔

خطاباتِ غزنویانِ من تاریخِ ناصری

محمود: یمین الدولہ نظام الدین ابو القاسم محمود۔

محمد: جلال الدولہ۔

مسعود: ناصر دین اللہ، نصیر الدین اللہ۔

مودود: شہاب الدولہ ابومسعود۔

عبدالرشید: بہاء الدولہ۔

ابراہیم: سلطان ظہیر الدولہ ونصیر الملۃ رضی الدین ابراہیم۔

مسعود ثانی[1]: علاء الدین۔

ملک ارسلان: ابوالملک (؟[2])۔

بہرام شاہ: معزِ الدولہ بہرام شاہ۔

حواشی

۱۔ یہاں مسعود ثانی کا نام شاید غلطی سے دیا گیا ہے۔ علاء الدین، مسعود ثالث یعنی سلطان مسعود بن ابراہیم کا خطاب تھا جو سنہ ۴۹۲ سے ۵۰۸ھ تک حکمران رہا۔ غریب مسعود ثانی تو اپنے باپ سلطان مودود کی وفات پر طفل چہار سالہ تھا۔ اسے تخت پر بٹھانے کے بعد ایک ہفتے کے اندر معزول کر دیا گیا اور اس کا چچا علی تخت نشین ہوا۔ ایک مختصر عرصے بعد سلطان عبدالرشید نے علی کی جگہ لے لی۔ گویا مسعود ثانی کا دور حکومت نامعلوم کمیت کی حیثیت رکھتا ہے۔ ممکن ہے اسی حقیقت کے پیش نظر مولف نے اسے نظر انداز کر کے مسعود ثالث کو سلطان مسعود ثانی قرار دیا ہو۔

۲۔ مختاری کے قصائد کی رو سے سلطان ارسلان غزنوی کا خطاب ابوالملوک ہے۔

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سرون کا گیت

(از ''خیالستان'' لاہور، بابت فروری۔ مارچ ۱۹۳۱ء)

ہریانی زبان میں گیت کثرت سے ملتے ہیں۔ ان میں سے بعض تاریخی دلچسپی بھی رکھتے ہیں اور واقعات عصری پر روشنی ڈالتے ہیں۔ یہاں اس قسم کا ایک گیت درج کیا جاتا ہے۔

ولیم فریزر جو بعض اوقات دہلی کا ریذیڈنٹ بھی تھا سنہ ۱۸۳۵ء میں قتل کیا جاتا ہے۔[۱] یہ قتل سیاسی نہیں تھا بلکہ کسی عورت کی بنا پر تھا۔ شاعر مشہور نواب مرزا داغ دہلوی کے والد نواب شمس الدین خاں والی فیروز پور جھرکا اس قتل کے سلسلے میں ماخوذ ہوتے ہیں اور پھانسی کی سزا پاتے ہیں۔[۲]

فریزر ایک حسن پرست انگریز معلوم ہوتا ہے۔[۳] گنگانہ تحصیل گوہانہ ضلع روہتک میں امی چند نامی ایک جاٹ رہتا تھا۔ اتفاق سے یہ جاٹ کسی مقدمے کے سلسلے میں فریزر کی عدالت میں پیش ہوا۔ فریزر کو کسی طرح علم ہو گیا کہ وہ ایک نہایت حسین لڑکی سرون کا بھائی ہے۔ فریزر نے لالچ یا دباؤ سے امی چند کو اس بات پر راضی کر لیا کہ وہ اپنی بہن اس کے حوالے کر دے اور تھانے دار کو سرون کو لانے کے لئے بھیج دیا۔ سرون نے آنے سے صاف انکار کر دیا۔ آخر فریزر (جسے مقامی طور پر فریدن کہا جاتا تھا) خود گنگانے گیا اور سرون با جبر و اکراہ اس کے حوالے کر دی گئی۔ اس محبت کا کیا انجام ہوا؟ ہمیں معلوم نہیں، لیکن سرون کے ہم وطنوں نے اس کی یاد میں ذیل کا گیت بنایا ہے[۴] جو ہر حال میں سنہ ۱۸۳۵ء سے قبل جوڑا گیا ہو گا۔ [گیت میں] وہ اپنے بھائی امی چند کو بد دعا بھی دیتی ہے:

دھر کلکتے سے چلا فریدن　　　پانچوں پیر منائے

رب جانے پانچوں پیر منائے

پانچ مقام دلی میں کر کے　　　چھٹا گنگانے گاؤں

[رب جانے] چھٹا گنگانے گاؤں

دھولے کنویں پر تنبو تانا　　　سرون ملتی ناہ

رب جانے سرون ملتی ناہ

گلی گلی چپڑاسی پھر گئے　　　گھر گھر تھانے دار

ترا مریو تھانے دار

کہے فریدن گام سے رے　　　سن لے سارا گام

[تیرا مریو سارا گام]

جو کوئی سرون بھال لگاوے　　　ہاتھی دوں انعام

رب جانے ہاتھی دوں انعام

کسی بیری نے بھال لگائی　　　سرون کھیت کو جائے

رب جانے سرون کھیت کو جائے

سر پر چھبڑہ ہاتھ ماں درانتی　　　باجرہ کاٹن جائے

[رب جانے باجرہ کاٹن جائے]

باجرہ کاٹتی سرون پکڑی　　　درانتی ڈھونگے ماہ

[رب جانے درانتی ڈھونگے ماہ]

سرون رو رو گال سناوے　　　ہنس ہنس ٹالے تھانے دار

ترا مریو تھانے دار

ہاتھ ماں بیلوا بیلوے ماں کنگھی　　　سیس گندھاون جائے

رب جانے سیس گندھاون جائے

ایسا تو سر میرا گوندھ نائی کے　　　سانپ لہریئے کھائے

[رب جانے سانپ لہریئے کھائے]

نایاں کے گھر سرون بیٹھی　　　باہر پکارے تھانے دار

[تیرا مریو تھانے دار]

سرون رو رو گال سناوے　　　ہنس ہنس ٹالے تھانے دار

ترا مریو تھانے دار

الٹا سلٹا گوندھ رے نائی کے　　　ٹھاڈا لیو جائے

[رب جانے ٹھاڈا لیو جائے]

ملنا ہو تو مل لے رے نائی کے　　　پھر کیا ہو نرباہ

[رب جانے پھر کیا ہو نرباہ]

بھائی بھیناں سب تو مل لئے   امی چند ملتا ناہ

[رب جانے امی چند ملتا ناہ]

گام گنگانہ سو بسو بسیو   امی چند روتا جاہ

[رب جانے امی چند روتا جاہ]

دھرتی کا بیٹھنا چھوڑ دے ری سرون   مونڈھے کا بیٹھنا لے

اوڑھنی کا اوڑھنا چھوڑ دے ری سرون   ٹوپی کا پہرنا لے

گھگرا آنگی پہرنا چھوڑ دے ری سرون   سائے کا پہرنا لے

چپکا بیٹھنا چھوڑ دے ری سرون   گانا بجانا لے

سرم لاج کو چھوڑ دے ری سرون   ہاتھ ملانا سیکھ

حواشی

۱۔ ولیم فریزر (۱۸۳۵ء۔۱۷۸۴ء) سنہ ۱۸۳۰ء سے ۱۸۳۵ء تک دہلی کا ریزیڈنٹ رہا اور ۲۲۔ مارچ ۱۸۳۵ء کو قتل کیا گیا۔

۲۔ نواب شمس الدین احمد خاں کو ۸۔ اکتوبر ۱۸۳۵ء بروز جمعرات کشمیری دروازے کے باہر پھانسی دی گئی تھی۔

۳۔ آر۔ سی۔ ٹمپل نے اپنی کتاب ''لیجنڈز آف دی پنجاب'' میں نواب شمس الدین خاں کو کمزور کردار کا انسان بتایا ہے اور فریزر کو معصوم عن الخطا ثابت کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے بلکہ سرون والے واقعے کو بھی من گھڑت قرار دیا ہے (ملاحظہ ہو ''حکایات پنجاب'' جلد دوم، اردو ترجمہ از میاں عبدالرشید، شائع کردہ مجلس ترقی ادب، لاہور، طبع اوّل ۱۹۶۲ء)۔ حالانکہ سرون کے زبردستی اغوا پر جب علاقے میں بے چینی پھیلی تو فریزر نے شاہ رمضان ہمی کو پیغام بھیجا کہ وہ لوگوں کو بدامنی سے روکیں۔ ''آپ نے اس معاملے میں پڑنے سے انکار کر دیا اور فرمایا جاٹنی واپس ہونی چاہیے۔ اس پر ناراض ہو کر فریزر نے حضرت ہادیٔ ہریانہ کے والد کی وہ جاگیر ضبط کر لی جو بھینی سرجن اور اس کے توابعات ماتو اور سارنگ پر مشتمل تھی''۔ (دیکھئے ''ہادی ہریانہ'' صفحہ ۴۰، از پروفیسر منظور الحق صدیقی، لاہور، اکتوبر ۱۹۶۳ء)

حقیقت یہ ہے کہ سرون کا واقعہ تو محض اس عوامی گیت کے باعث یاد رہ گیا ورنہ فریزر کی بے راہ

روی اور اخلاق باختگی کے واقعات اس دور میں دہلی اور گردو نواح میں بچے بچے کی زبان پر تھے۔ میں یہاں جناب خالد حسن قادری کے مضمون ''داغ کے انگریز رشتہ دار'' (مطبوعہ سہ ماہی ''صحیفہ'' بابت جنوری۔ مارچ ۲۰۰۰ء) سے ایک اقتباس درج کرتا ہوں:

''یہ موصوف ولیم فریزر حرفوں کے بنے ہوئے، نہایت کائیاں اور عیار ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ کسی در بند نہ تھے۔ نہایت عیاش، فحاش اور اوچھے کردار کے گورے تھے۔ مختلف قسم کی خواتین سے ہر طرح کے جائز و نا جائز تعلقات نہ صرف قائم کرتے تھے بلکہ خاص محفلوں میں فخریہ بیان کرتے تھے۔ انہیں ''پس و پیش'' میں بھی پس و پیش نہ تھا..... اور اس سلسلے میں چند واقعات سامنے آ چکے ہیں اور فارن آفس تک رپورٹ ہو چکی تھی۔ اس لئے اس کا گولی سے مارا جانا اس عہد کے باخبر لوگوں کے لئے کوئی غیر متوقع خبر نہ تھی اور یہ گولی کسی کی بھی ہو سکتی ہے...... بچارے نواب شمس الدین احمد خاں کو تو نمونۂ عبرت برائے دیگراں بنانے کے لئے تختۂ دار پر لٹکایا گیا اور دہلی کے عوام کا یہ خیال تھا کہ وہ بے گناہ اور شہید تھے... اسی کا اثر تھا کہ جب ۱۸۵۷ء میں انہوں نے انگریزوں کا قلع قمع شروع کیا تو انتقاماً ولیم فریزر کی قبر کو تہس نہس کر دیا''۔

فریزر کے قتل پر کہا گیا یہ قطعہ تاریخ مقتول کے بارے میں عوام الناس کی رائے کا آئینہ دار ہے:

چون فریزر کمشنر دہلی ۔۔۔ گشت مقتول از تفنگ بلا
آمد از چرخ چارمین آواز ۔۔۔ ''خر عیسیٰ بمرد واویلا''

آخری مصرع سے ہجری سال ۱۲۵۰ء برآمد ہوتا ہے۔

۴۔ ٹمپل کا یہ کہنا بالکل غلط ہے کہ سرون کا گیت نواب شمس الدین خاں کی پھانسی کے بعد دہلی کی ان طوائفوں نے بنایا جن کی نواب سرپرستی کرتے تھے۔ اگر ایسا ہوتا تو اس گیت کا موضوع فریزر کا قتل اور نواب کی پھانسی کے واقعات ہوتے۔ علاوہ ازیں ایسی صورت میں گیت اردو زبان میں لکھا جاتا۔ ہریانی زبان میں ہونا اس بات کا ثبوت ہے کہ وہ علاقے کے دیہاتی عوام کے جذبات پر مبنی اور انہی کا بنایا ہوا ہے نیز ۱۸۳۵ء سے قبل یعنی سرون کے اغوا کے فوراً بعد رائج ہوا ہے۔ یہ بھی قرین قیاس ہے کہ اس گیت کی ایک سے زیادہ صورتیں ہوں۔ چنانچہ خود ٹمپل نے اس کی تین روایات درج کی ہیں۔ یہ الگ بات ہے کہ انگریزی نثر میں ترجمہ ہونے کی وجہ سے، گیت کے متن (یا متون) کے تعین میں ان روایات سے کوئی مدد نہیں ملتی۔

بعض نئے اوزان

(از ماہنامہ ''انتخاب'' لاہور، بابت جنوری ۱۹۲۶ء)

''چند سال ادھر سے اردو شاعری میں جذبات وتخیلات اور تشبیہات و استعارات کی جدتوں کے اعتبار سے جو خوش گوار انقلاب رونما ہو رہا ہے وہ اہل نظر کے لئے کوئی حقیقت مستور نہیں ہے لیکن فکر و خیال اور انداز و بیان کی ان دلاویز گونا گوں جدتوں کے ساتھ اوزان و بحور کی وسعت یعنی علم عروض کی فراخ دامنی کی بھی ضرورت ہے جسے ذہین طبیعتیں روز بروز محسوس کرتی جاتی ہیں کیونکہ اس ضرورت کی عملی کامیابی اور اس کی تکمیل سے ہر قسم کے خیالات کے لئے بیسیوں بہتر سے بہتر شاہراہیں نکل سکتی ہیں۔ چنانچہ ''بسم اللہ'' کے طور پر ذیل میں بعض ایسے جدید اوزان پیش کرنے کا فخر حاصل کیا جاتا ہے جو قبلہ والد ماجد کی ایک نئی عروضی تجویز کے ماتحت پیدا ہوئے ہیں۔

میرے لئے اس امر کا اظہار ذاتی طور پر ایک افتخار بخش سعادت اور ادارتی حیثیت میں ایک سرمایہ ناز خدمت سے کم نہیں کہ قبلہ والد ماجد کی دیرینہ دماغی کاوشوں کا یہ تحریری نقش جس پر وہ شعرائے فارس کی محققانہ سوانح آرائیوں کے ساتھ ساتھ گذشتہ دس پندرہ سال سے مصروف رہے ہیں بالآخر پہلی مرتبہ میرے توسط سے باصرہ نواز ہوتا ہے۔

خزینہ عروض کے ان چند موتیوں کو پیش کرتے ہوئے جن کی آب و تاب، شرح و تفصیل کی روشنی میں پھر کبھی دیکھئے گا (جس کا وعدہ فرمایا گیا ہے)۔ ''انتخاب'' ملک کے خوش فکر شاعروں سے متوقع ہے کہ وہ ان کی طرف اپنی خاص توجہ مبذول کر کے ان اوزان میں مختلف خیالات ادا کرنے کی کوشش فرمائیں گے، جو حقیقت میں ہماری زبان کی بہترین خدمت ہو گی۔ اختر''

☆ ☆ ☆

ا۔ فارسی مثال:

چو سحر گاہاں بگلستانہا لب بلبلہا بترنمہا

ببرد خواب از گل بستانی بہوائے برق تبسمہا

اردو: یہ ضروری وقت ہے اے رہرو نہ گنوا تو سیر و تماشا میں

کہ مسافر کو ہے غضب تھمنا ہو سفر میں کوچ کی جب جلدی

تو اٹھا جلدی سے قدم اپنا مجھے ڈر ہے رات نہ ہو جائے

کہ یہاں سر گرم سفر سب ہیں وہ ہوں دیسی یا کہ ہوں پردیسی

یہ ایک سالم وزن ہے جو ہزج کے رکن مفاعیلن میں ایک متحرک حرف کے اضافے سے پیدا ہوا ہے۔ جس طرح بحر ہزج مثمن ہے یہ بھی مثمن ہے۔ اس کے ایک مصرع کی تقطیع چار بار متفاعیلن سے ہوتی ہے یعنی اس طرح:

ی ضروری وق = متفاعیلن، ت ہ اے رہرو = متفاعیلن، نگوا تو سے = متفاعیلن، رتماشاے = متفاعیلن۔

ک مسافر کو = متفاعیلن، ہ غضب تمنا = متفاعیلن، ہ سفرے کو = متفاعیلن، چ ک جب جلدی = متفاعیلن۔

۲۔ میں نفس ذات میں گو اپنے مثال صفر کے لاشے ہوں

وجود غیر سے ملتا ہے سراغ کچھ مری ہستی کا

تو تلخ و نوش گوارا کر دیا ہے تجھ کو جو ساغر میں

تمیز ہے خوش و ناخوش کی حریف تو نہیں مستی کا

صراط عشق میں پہلے ہی قدم سنبھال کے رکھنا تھا

خیال راہ میں لازم تھا ہمیں بلندی و پستی کا

فضول ہے یہ خفا ہونا وطن کو چھوڑ سفر کرنا

ہمارے ایک نہ ہونے سے بگڑتا کچھ نہیں بستی کا

تقطیع: م نفس ذا = مفاعلن، ت م گو اپنے = متفاعیلن، مثال صف = مفاعلن، ر ک لاشے ہو = متفاعیلن۔

وجود غے = مفاعلن، اس ملتا ہے = متفاعیلین، سراغ کچ = مفاعلن، مری ہستی کا = متفاعیلن۔

۳۔ ہستی یہ نہیں ہے یہ بیداری مابین دو خواب عدم یعنی

نیند آئے گی جب چلے جائیں گے ہے ساعت چند قیام اپنا

رہنے دے ہمیں نہ اٹھایاں سے خستہ ہیں تھکے ہیں مسافر ہیں

ہم صبح ہوئے چلے جائیں گے ہے رات کی رات مقام اپنا

تقطیع: ہستی ی نہی = مستفعلتن، ہ ی بیداری = متفاعلین، مابین دخا = مستفعلتن، ب عدم یعنے = متفاعیلن۔ نینداء گ جب = مستفعلتن، چل جائیں گے = متفاعیلن، ہے ساعت چن = مستفعلتن، دقیامپ نا = متفاعیلن۔

حصۂ دوم

منظومات

۱۔ گلستان
۲۔ ٹیپو سلطان
۳۔ موت کا وقت
۴۔ منتخباتِ نظم
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۶۔ کلامِ شیرانی (فارسی)
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نخلستان

(از ماہنامہ ''مخزن''۔ جنوری ۱۹۰۵ء)

صحرائے لق و دق میں ہے اک درخت خرما
فرش زمیں پہ جس نے ڈالا ہے اپنا سایا
جو میزباں رہا ہے اکثر مسافروں کا
بیٹھا ہے اس کے نیچے اک مرد اجنبی سا
جو اپنا لحن دلکش جنگل کو ہے سناتا
اے قافلوں کے مسکن ، اے کارواں کے ملجا
بھولے ہوؤں کے مونس ، بھٹکے ہوؤں کے ماوا
کھوئے مسافروں نے آرام تجھ سے پایا
سنتا رہا ہے تیری تعریف کا ترانا
عدنانیوں کے منہ سے ہر عہد میں زمانہ
ارض عرب پہ تیرے احسان ہیں سراسر
دل کش کئے ہیں تو نے بیت الحرم کے منظر
یثرب کے باغ و صحرا آباد تجھ سے اکثر
بصرے کو شان تجھ سے کوفے کو ناز تجھ پر
سرسبز تجھ سے دائم ہے سر زمین بطحا
تعریفی گیت تیرے گایا کئے پرندے
سورج نے بھی سنے ہیں یہ راگ چھپتے چھپتے
یا اس نے سر نکالا مشرق میں جب افق سے
اس نے سنا ہے اکثر چڑیوں کو یوں چہکتے
اے وہ جسے نہیں ہے غم موسم خزاں کا
گر آسماں کے نیچے تو شاندار ، تنہا
عظمت دکھاتے اپنی ایسے کھڑا نہ ہوتا

سنسان کیسے ہوتے وادی و کوہ و صحرا
پھر کون قافلوں کا مہماں نواز ہوتا
گویا کہ تو سبب ہے جنگل کی آبرو کا
ہے دل میں آرزو یہ پوجوں میں تیری مورت
شاخوں نے تیری ہم کو دکھلا کے اپنی صورت
سکھلائی مسجدوں میں محراب کی ضرورت
ہے پتہ پتہ تیرا تیغ دودم کی صورت
تاج زمردیں سے ہے سبز نور پیدا
پیغام دے رہا ہے تیرا ہر ایک پتہ
اس تازہ میہماں کو جس کو کہ شوق کعبہ
پہنچا گیا ہے تجھ تک اور موت کا فرشتہ
کہتا ہے اس سے آ کر، اب قصد ہے کدھر کا
چلئے ہمیں بلایا اس نے کہ جو ہے یکتا
وہ ہے خطاب کرتا اس نعش بے کفن سے
ہے ہے! اس آرزو میں نکلا تھا تو وطن سے
اس شوق میں ہے گزرا تو دشت سے چمن سے
تو نے نہ چھوڑی یہ دھن گو نکلی جان تن سے
بے شک لباس کعبہ ماتم ترا کرے گا
نیچے ترے کھڑا ہے اک سرخ رنگ خیمہ
اک بے نقاب چہرہ ہے جس میں جلوہ فرما
تو اس سے چپکے چپکے یوں کہہ رہا ہے گویا
اے قابل پرستش دوشیزہ تو نکل آ
تجھ کو یہاں نہیں ہے نا محرموں کا کھٹکا
وہ مقبرے پہ گنبد جو ہے دکھائی دیتا
خلوت کدہ ہے جو اک مہمان دائمی کا
صدیوں سے قبر میں جو پھیلا کے پاؤں سویا

ڈالا ہے بعد مردن تو نے بھی اس پہ سایہ
پھولوں کا ہار لا کر شام و سحر چڑھایا
اے خوش نما پکھیرو! اے دل ربا پرندو!
اک بات پوچھتا ہوں اس کا جواب تم دو
سنسان جنگلوں میں تم کیوں چہک رہے ہو؟
آئے گا کون سننے اس لحن دل ربا کو؟
شاید تمہارے نغمے سنتا ہے نخل خرما!

☆ ☆ ☆

ٹیپو سلطان

(از ''مخزن'' مارچ ۱۹۰۵ء؛ ''خیالستان'' مئی ۱۹۳۰ء
و ''فنون'' جنوری ۱۹۶۴ء)

عجائبات زمانہ کے اے تماشائی   رہا ہے سیر جہاں کا جو تو تمنائی
محیط ارض پہ کی تو نے گام فرسائی   قطب سے کی ہے قطب تک کی دشت پیمائی
نظر میں ہے تری ، خورشید کا طلوع و غروب
جہاں کے دیکھ کے آیا ہے تو شمال و جنوب

تماشا گاہ ہے تیری زمین کا محور   بہت کیا ہے خط استوا پہ تو نے سفر
جو دن کو سایۂ خورشید میں کیا بستر   چلا ہے رات کو تو کہکشاں کے رستے پر
کبھی رہا ہے تو ریڈ[1] انڈینز کے بن میں
کبھی قیام کیا پیپوا[2] کے مسکن میں

افق پہ جب کہ عناصر میں ہو صف آرائی   جہاز لائے تباہی میں موج دریائی
فضا میں جب کہ چلی ہو سموم صحرائی   غبار دشت سے آنکھوں میں تیرگی چھائی
ہر ایک حال میں چلنے سے کام ہے تجھ کو
نہ لطف صبح نہ کچھ خوف شام ہے تجھ کو

دیار ہند میں جب سیر کے لئے آنا   تو اپنے پہلو میں تو اک دل حزیں لانا
عجائبات میں یاں کے نہ دل کو الجھانا   دکن میں جا کے سرنگا پٹم چلے جانا
کہ جس کی خاک میں سوتا ہے شیر ہندوستاں
زمانہ بھول گیا ہائے جس کے سب احساں

ادب ہے شرط تجھ اس مقام عبرت پر   بہانا اشک تو اس تاجور کی تربت پر
فلک سے لڑنا تو اس نامور کی حسرت پر   ہزار آفریں اس شیر دل کی غیرت پر
کہ جس کے نام سے ڈرتے تھے بچگان فرنگ
جھکا ہے سامنے جس کے بہت نشان فرنگ

زمین ہند سے اٹھا نہ کوئی فرزانہ رہا یہ ملک ہمیشہ مطیع بیگانہ
بقدر ظرف جو ملتا کسی کو پیمانہ دکھاتا کرکے وہ کچھ ہاؤ ہوئے مستانہ
جہاں نے ختم کئے دور ہائے سال دراز
ہوا نہ پیدا پتھورا[۳] کا کوئی ہم آواز

وہ بادہ جس سے کہ سلطان لودی[۴] تھا مسرور وہ آگ جس سے مراجل کے شیر شاہ سور
وہ نوش جس سے کہ مدہوش ہوگیا تھا پور[۵] اسی شراب نے ٹیپو کو بھی کیا مخمور
زمانہ گرچہ مخالف ہی پایا ٹیپو نے
کرے گا کون جو کچھ کر دکھایا ٹیپو نے

سپہر ہند کا وہ اک چمکتا اختر تھا دکن کی خاک کا اک تابدار گوہر تھا
نصیب ہند تھا ، اقبال تھا ، مقدر تھا نہ ہو کیوں ایسا کہ آخر تو ابن حیدر تھا
خیال کچھ نہ کیا اس نے اپنی زحمت کا
قدم قدم پہ رکھا دھیان اس وصیت کا

"فلک بکام تو باشد کہ اہتمام کند سپہر بادہ عیش ترا بجام کند
زمانہ خنجر کین تو در نیام کند اگر پدر نتواند پسر تمام کند
ترا کہ زور بہ بازوئے تیغ زن باقیست
بگیر تیغ کہ آں حسرت کہن باقیست"

نہ ڈھونڈھو لطف سحر گاہ شام ماتم میں کبھی نہ دیکھو گے ذی الحجہ کو تم محرم میں
دکھائے خاک بہار اپنی باغ عالم میں وہ پھول جو کہ کھلا ہو خزاں کے موسم میں
کئے خدا نے مقرر ہر ایک کام کے وقت
سحر کا کام ملا ہائے اس کو شام کے وقت

دکھائے اس نے شجاعت کے خوب ہی جوہر ادھر وہ یکہ و تنہا خدائی ساری ادھر
وہ کیا کرے کہ نہ ہو جس کا آسماں یاور شکست و فتح تو ہے منحصر مقدر پر
نہ ہارا حوصلہ اس تیغ راں نے خوب کیا
مقابلہ تو مرے پہلواں نے خوب کیا

نظام دیکھ کے انداز جنگ ہے مسرور پھرا ہے پیشوا لے کر غنیمت موفور
نہ کھینچیں کس لئے انگریز اپنے آپ کو دور کہ جس سے رکھتے تھے دل میں وہ سینکڑوں ناسور

پڑا ہے خاک پہ اس ناتواں کا لاشہ ہائے
فلک یہ تو نے دکھایا ہے کیا تماشہ ہائے

وہ بادہ جس کا کہ خان شہید تھا شیدا — وہ نوش جس کو کہ تغلق نے ناپسند کیا
وہ زہر جس کا کہ ہیمو نے پی لیا پیالہ — ازل کے دن سے وہ حصہ نصیب ٹیپو تھا
مرا وہ موت جسے کہیے عاشقانہ موت
سپاہی کہتے ہیں جس کو سپاہیانہ موت

بجا ہے اس کو جو بیداد گر کہیں انگریز — روا ہے اس کو اگر بے خبر کہیں انگریز
درست ہے جو اسے بے ہنر کہیں انگریز — رقیب کو ستم آرا اگر کہیں انگریز
کہ اس کے آگے چھلکتا رہا ایاغ فرنگ
جلا نہ سامنے اس کے کبھی چراغ فرنگ

ہزاروں اٹھ گئے دنیا سے بے پھلے پھولے — وہ ہونہار جو دنیا میں آئے اور نہ رہے
وہ تازہ غنچے جو مرجھا گئے بغیر کھلے — اسی طرح سے گیا ٹیپو وقت سے پہلے
کہ اس کو موت ہی آئی شباب کے بدلے
پلا یا زہر ہی اس کو شراب کے بدلے

رہا زمانے میں کچھ روز میہماں کی طرح — بہار اس کی جو آئی بھی تو خزاں کی طرح
چھپا جہان سے وہ گنج شائگاں کی طرح — دلوں سے محو ہوا یاد رفتگاں کی طرح
کسی بشر نے نہ کی اس پہ اشک افشانی
فرشتے گور پہ کرتے ہیں فاتحہ خوانی

برا کیا کہ جو غم خوار ملک کو مارا — غضب کیا کہ جو اس تاجور کو قتل کیا
یہ خون بے گنہ اک روز رنگ لائے گا — زمانہ لے گا عوض اس کے خون ناحق کا
کہاں ہے پیشوا ہم کو کوئی بتائے ذرا
حریف کون سے آرام سے رہیں گے سدا

دیار ہند مبارک ہو تجھ کو ویرانی — خدا کے قہر کی تجھ پر رہے نگہ بانی
وبا و قحط کی دائم رہے فراوانی — کہ اپنے ہاتھ سے ٹیپو کی کی ہے قربانی
نصیب ہو تجھے دنیا میں تلخ کامی بھی
اور اس کے ساتھ ہی اغیار کی غلامی بھی

بہار گائیں گی جب بلبلیں گلستاں میں　　خزاں کا دور ہو جب موسم زمستاں میں
حریف دو ہوں مقابل جب ایک میداں میں　　اڑائیں ساغر مے جب کہ بزم یاراں میں
جہاں میں رسم ہے جب تک کہ شادی و ماتم
ہمیشہ روئے گا اس کے لئے سرنگا پٹم

....

حواشی

۱۔ امریکہ کے قدیم باشندے۔

۲۔ شرق الہند میں جزیرہ پاپوا (نیوگنی) کے باشندے۔

۳۔ راجہ پرتھوی راج چوہان۔

۴۔ سلطان ابراہیم لودی جو بابر کا مقابلہ کرتے ہوئے میدان جنگ میں کام آیا۔

۵۔ راجہ پورس جس نے سکندر اعظم کا مقابلہ کیا تھا۔

۶۔ سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن کا فرزند جو ملتان کا صوبہ دار تھا اور تاتاریوں کا مقابلہ کرتے ہوئے شہید ہوا۔

۷۔ سلطان محمود تغلق جس نے تیمور کا حملہ روکنے کی بجائے فرار کا راستہ اختیار کیا۔

☆ ☆ ☆

موت کا وقت ☆

(از ماہنامہ ''مخزن'' اگست ۱۹۰۵ء)

درختوں نے معین وقت پر کی برگ افشانی
اڑا باد خزاں سے رنگ گل ہائے گلستانی
نمود صبح سے انجم کو دی تعلیم بطلانی
مگر اے موت ہر موسم میں تیری ہے فراوانی
سحر دروازہ ہے انساں کے اسباب معیشت کا
ہوئی ہے شام اک نظارہ اس کی بزم عشرت کا
بنا دامان شب گہوارہ اس کے خواب راحت کا
تسلط ہے مگر ان سب پہ تیرے دست قدرت کا
ہمیں ہے علم اوقات زوال ماہ تاباں سے
پرندے گرمیوں میں آئیں جب کہ بحر عماں سے
لباس زرد کھیتوں کو ملے فصل زمستاں سے
نہیں واقف ہیں ہم لیکن تری آمد کے طوفاں سے
ترا وہ وقت ہے کیا؟ فصل گل کا جب کوئی جھونکا
کرے سرگوشیاں آ کر بنفشہ ہے جہاں پھولا
نہیں یہ بھی تو پھر وہ زرد ہو پھولوں کا جب تختہ
معین ہے فنا ان کی ، ہمیں بھی ہے فنا ہونا
وہی نا جب کہ طوفانی پہ آوے موج دریائی
تموج میں ہوا کو لائے جب آواز نغمے کی
نہیں خالی رہے تجھ سے ہمارے عیش خانے بھی
رکھا دنیا میں ہم نے جب قدم تب بھی وہاں تو تھی
ملا ہے آشنا سے آشنا جس دم ، وہاں تو ہے
ہوا یا جب کوئی دشمن مقابل اپنے دشمن سے
فضائے باد گونج اٹھتی ہے جب آواز قرنا سے
ملا دے خاک میں شاہانہ کلغی تیغ قاتل :

☆ یہ مسز ہیمنز کی انگریزی نظم کا ترجمہ ہے (مرتب)

منتخباتِ نظم ☆

(از ہفت روزہ ''انتخابِ لاجواب'' لاہور، ۸ جنوری ۱۹۰۸ء)

نہ وہ بزم باقی نہ وہ یار باقی
مگر رات کے باسی ہیں ہار باقی

یہ صحرائے مغرب کے وحشی غزالے   یہ تہذیب کے نام پر مرنے والے
حذر ان سے جو ہم کو کہتے ہیں کالے   خدا ان سے پالا کسی کا نہ ڈالے
یہ سب گل ہمارے کھلائے ہوئے ہیں
یہ طوطے ہمارے پڑھائے ہوئے ہیں

سمندر کی موجوں کے جو دیوتا ہیں   تر و خشک عالم کے فرماں روا ہیں
ہمارے نصیبوں کے جو ناخدا ہیں   پرستار جن کے امیر و گدا ہیں
ہوئے ایک عالم میں مشہور جن سے
یہ باتیں انھیں آئی ہیں چار دن سے

سیہ بختی سے ہائے ناچار ہیں ہم   کہ جام سفالیں ہوا ساغر جم
ولیکن نہیں پھر بھی کچھ ان سے ہم کم   وہی اپنی شوکت وہی اپنا دم خم
وہی اپنی چتون وہی اپنے تیور
سمجھتے ہیں شمشیر و خنجر کو زیور

مگر یاد آتا ہے گزرا فسانہ   کبھی ہم سے بھی تھا موافق زمانہ
ہر اک فرد ہوتا تھا ہم میں یگانہ   فقیہہ اور واعظ، طبیب اور دانا
ہوئی ایک مدت کہ گزری جوانی
وہ باتیں ہوئیں اب تو قصہ کہانی

چھٹے دار و منزل گرے قصر و ایواں   لٹا مال و دولت چھنے باغ و بستاں
لگی آگ گھر میں ہوا خانہ ویراں   خدا کے کرم سے نہیں پھر کمی یاں

☆ اس نظم پر ''انتخاب لاجواب'' کے مدیر منشی محبوب عالم نے یہ نوٹ دیا ہے: ''نظم جو جناب چودھری خوشی محمد صاحب بی۔اے کے تتبع میں ح۔م۔محمود شیرانی صاحب منشی فاضل نے لکھی ہے۔''
چودھری خوشی محمد سے مراد چودھری خوشی محمد ناظر ہیں۔

وہ پہلی سی سرسبزی بے شک نہیں ہے
مگر دو دلی بارے اب تک نہیں ہے

ہمارے ہی ہیں بھائی وہ کالے کالے   جو افریقہ میں پھرتے ہیں ڈیرے ڈالے
حبش اور خرطوم کے رہنے والے   بڑے پاک باطن بڑے بھولے بھالے
نہ ان میں مشیخت نہ ان میں پٹھانی
پرانے مسلمانوں کی ہیں نشانی

عرب جو ہمارے ہیں اجداد و آبا   نہ آگے کسی کے جھکا سر ہے ان کا
نہ مانا کسی کی حکومت کا لوہا   وہ قیصر ہو یا کسریٰ ہو یا کہ دارا
یہ کس کا ہے یارا کہ ان کو دبا لے
کوئی اور ہوں گے کڑی سہنے والے

وہ بغداد و بصرہ کے سچے مسلماں   کلام الٰہی پہ ہے جن کا ایماں
شریعت کے پیرو طریقت پہ قرباں   ہوا خواہ قوم اور مددگار اخواں
فرات اور دجلہ کی موجوں کے پالے
ہماری حمایت پہ سر دھرنے والے

یہ غزنین و کابل کا اونچا گھرانا   یہ درانیوں کا پرانا ٹھکانا
اگرچہ مخالف ہے اس سے زمانہ   مگر اس سے قائم ہے بزم شبانہ
وہی تذکرہ ہے ابھی محفلوں میں
وہی زور فطرت ہے ان کے دلوں میں

وہی جوش رقت ہے مطرب کی نے میں   وہی اگلی وحشت ہے مغنی کی لے میں
وہی نشہ ہے اب تلک جام مے میں   خوشی کے ہیں نغمے ہر اک زمزمے میں
دلوں میں ہے اب تک وہی راگ باقی
وہی آگ باقی وہی لاگ باقی

اداؤں سے سرو سہی لہلہاتے   سریلی صداؤں سے دل کو لبھاتے
بہاروں کے مرغ چمن گیت گاتے   کبھی غل مچاتے کبھی چہچہاتے
جوانان گلشن کا چتون وہی ہے
گل ناشگفتہ پہ جوبن وہی ہے

یہ افغان یہ سرحدی جرگے والے   جنھیں وحشی کہتے ہیں سب گورے کالے

کسے تاب و طاقت کہ ان کو ڈرا لے　　اجی ہم نے ایسے بہت دیکھے بھالے
ابھی ان کے خنجر سے خوں ہے ٹپکتا
نہ سوکھا لہو دامن و آستیں کا

وہ یورپ میں ترکوں کا جو خاندان ہے　　مسلمانوں کی شان و شوکت وہاں ہے
عجب اس کی قدرت عجب اس کی شاں ہے　　صلیبوں کے اندر ہلالی نشاں ہے
ابھی گونجتی ہے ایا صوفیہ پر
موذن کی آواز "اللہ اکبر"
وہ سلطان اعظم وہ ترکوں کا حاکم　　خلافت ہے اس دور میں جس سے قائم
شریعت کے احکام کا سچا خادم　　الٰہی تو رکھ اس کو آباد دائم
ابھی حوصلہ اس سے ہے انجمن میں
تسلی ہے کچھ اس سے اہل وطن میں
یہ فارس کے ملکوں کے مردان میداں　　جو ہیں وارث ملک جمشید ساساں
صفاہان و شیراز و طہراں کے سکاں　　رہے رات دن ان پہ الطاف یزداں
اگرچہ ہمارے سوتیلے ہیں بھائی
مصیبت میں لیکن کریں گے بھلائی
ابھی لوگ باقی ہیں کچھ انجمن میں　　وہی تازگی ہے پرانے چمن میں
محلے ہیں آباد اجڑے وطن میں　　وہی رنگ و بو ہے گل نسترن میں
گلستاں میں ہیں اب بھی سرو و صنوبر
فلک پر چمکتے ہیں خورشید و اختر

تشبیب ☆

(از ہفت روزہ ''انتخاب لاجواب'' لاہور، ۱۵۔ جنوری ۱۹۰۸ء)

صبح کو جب میں مست شبانہ، محو فسانہ لب پہ ترانہ
بادل حزم و خاطر خنداں، گھر سے نکل کر جانب صحرا
راہی ہوا تو دیکھتا کیا ہوں، قدرت خالق صنعت بے چوں
پھول مہکتے ، غنچے چٹکتے ، مرغ چہکتے ، نور کا تڑکا
مرغ گلستاں محو ترنم ، طائر بستاں صرف تبسم
بلبل بیدل سر خوش نغمہ ، قمری گویا مست تماشا
باد بہاری مشک تتاری ، لائی اڑا کر عطر سنگھانے
غنچہ و گل کی ہے یہ لپٹ یا باغ ارم ہے دہر میں اترا
موسم باراں فصل بہاراں ، زور ہزاراں لالہ عذاراں
جام و صراحی دست و بغل میں ، آئی ہیں بہر سیر و تماشا
کالی گھٹائیں جھوم کے آئیں ، بدلیاں کیسی دھوم مچائیں
برق فلک پر کوندے ہے ہردم ، ابر سیہ بھی چرخ پہ چھایا
محفل رنداں مست صبوحی ، خلوت مستاں رشک پرستاں
نالۂ چنگ و نغمۂ بربط ، رقص حسیناں ساغر مینا
صحن چمن میں ساقی مہوش ، جام صبوحی ہاتھ میں لے کر
کہتا ہے سب سے خوشیاں مناؤ، عیش جگاؤ خوف ہے کس کا

☆ اس نظم پر مدیرِ انتخاب لاجواب نے یہ نوٹ دیا ہے:
''یہ قطعہ شیخ ابراہیم ذوق کی تقلید میں لکھا گیا۔ ان کا مطلع یہ ہے۔
صبحِ سعادت، نورِ ارادت، تن بریاضت، دل بہ تمنا
جلوۂ قدرت، عالم وحدت، چشم بصیرت محو تماشا''

دل میں امنگیں روز مسرت ، جوش طبیعت زور لطافت
فرط طرب سے مرغ چمن ہیں مائل شادی اب ہے کمی کیا
نکہت نسریں دشت وجبل میں ، نافہ آہو ملک ختن میں
سبزہ شبنم سطح زمیں پر ، اطلس نیلی رشک زلیخا
آئی نظر اک طلعت زیبا ، فتنہ سراپا قہر مجسم
حسن کی دیبی نور کی مورت ، حور کی صورت چاند کا ٹکڑا
خط ہلالیں طاق دو ابرو ، سرگیں آنکھیں نرگس جادو
ناوک مژگاں تیر کے پیکاں ، خال دہن چو عنبر سارا
تیر نگہ وہ خط شعاعی ، تار نظر وہ برچھی اجل کی
اس کا چمکنا برق کی صورت ، اس کا تڑپنا موت کا آنا
چہرہ رخشاں چاہ زنخداں ، روئے درخشاں گوہر دنداں
کان صباحت لجہ دریا ، بحر ملاحت عقد ثریا
دست نگاریں پنجہ رنگیں ، ساعد سیمیں چشم غزالیں
کان عقیق و پنجہ مرجاں ، چشمہ خوبی نرگس شیدا
گیسو مشکیں دام سیاہی ، ساحر دیدہ نور نگاہی
عالم مستی جوں رم وحشی ، جوش جوانی نشہ صہبا
چاہ ذقن یا چاہ سلیماں ، سینکڑوں جس کی چاہیں حیراں
سیب زنخ یا سیب بہشتی ، مایہ ناز و محرم دلہا
فتنۂ قامت قہر و قیامت ، خندہ پنہاں غیرت ایماں
ہونٹوں کی سرخی لعل بدخشاں ، مردم بینا مردم گویا
چہرہ روشن غیرت گلشن ، قہر کا جوبن واہ رے چتون
گال تھے کندن بال تھے ناگن ، چال میں جوگن سال میں سولھا
اس کی نزاکت روح کی آفت ، اس کی شرارت شور قیامت
اس کی لگاوٹ وصل کا مژدہ ، اس کی رکاوٹ جان کی لیوا

مانگ وہ سر پر جادہ ظلمت ، ناگن زلفیں کالی گھٹائیں
گیسو مشکیں دستہ سنبل ، عود قماری یا شب یلدا
فتنہ طراز و صبر گداز و عربدہ ساز و دشمن ایماں
زمزمہ ساز و محرم راز و بندہ نواز و مونس شبہا
ہوش ربا و ماہ لقا و غرق حیا و ہمدم خلوت
مہر ضیا و مہر فزا و عشوہ نما و انجمن آرا
آیا وہ مہوش ہو کے خراماں مثل بہار روضہ رضواں
دستہ ریحاں ہاتھ میں لے کر ، دوش پہ ڈالے زلف چلیپا

☆☆☆☆☆

کلامِ شیرانی ☆

(از ''مخزن'' ستمبر ۱۹۱۹ء)

بیا در ملک ما تا حالت مارا عیاں بینی
جہاں را سوگوار ماتم ہندوستاں بینی
درون بخراش ، دل بشگاف ، شیون گیرو ماتم کن
تراہم نوحہ زن خواہم چو مرگ دوستاں بینی
عدویت نعرہ زن آمد بہ پرخاش تو درمیداں
نہنگی در غلاف و اژدھائی زیرراں بینی
تو مرد نازک اندامی دلم برحال تو لرزد
خوری زخمی ز خنجر ، چشم زخمی ازسناں بینی
چودستی بینی بر خنجر غم مرگت سپر گردد
بخوانی تبت واژوں چو تیری در کماں بینی
ندیدی تیغ برانش نخوردی زخم پیکانش
اجل را بر اثر یابی فنا در درمیاں بینی
زگلشن آشیاں بر چیں قدم در راہ غربت نہ
کہ بلبل در وداع و محمل گل را رواں بینی
مگر آگہ نہ ای از انقلاب عالم ہستی
کہ صبح از نور و نور از مہر ، مہر از آسماں بینی
غزل گفتن نمی زیبد محل بشناس شیرانی
نہ خواب دوستاں بینی نہ طول داستان بینی

☆ اس نظم کی اشاعت کے وقت شیخ عبدالقادر، مدیر مخزن نے یہ نوٹ دیا تھا:
''مسٹر محمود شیرانی بیرسٹرایٹ لا مدتوں کے بعد محفل آرائے مخزن ہوئے ہیں۔ ذیل کی فارسی نظم آپ کی ہی تراوش فکر ہے۔''
شیخ صاحب یہ سمجھ رہے ہیں کہ شیرانی صاحب بیرسٹری کر چکے ہوں گے، حالانکہ وہ آخری سال میں بار کی تعلیم کو خیر باد کہہ چکے تھے۔

غزل

(از ''مخزن'' اپریل ۱۹۲۰ء)

مرے تن کو کیا احتیاج کفن ہے
یہ مٹی کا پتلا ہے مٹی وطن ہے
ہوئے منکشف جب سے اسرار ہستی
نگاہوں میں کچھ اور، چرغ کہن ہے
برابر ہیں عیش و مصائب جہاں کے
نہ یہ راہبر ہے نہ وہ راہزن ہے
امیدوں میں محرومیاں جلوہ گر ہیں
نہاں نور میں ابر سایہ فگن ہے
تبسم کی موجوں میں ہیں اشک پنہاں
کفن ہے عروسی کا جو پیرہن ہے
بہار و خزاں نے سنوارا، اجاڑا
حقیقی نہ یہ رنگ، رنگ چمن ہے
نہ غم غم ہے یاں اور نہ شادی ہے شادی
عزیزوں کا لیکن فقط حسن ظن ہے
سفر جس کو سمجھے تھے ہم وہ وطن ہے
فنا دیس ہے اور پردیس تن ہے

☆☆☆☆☆

کلامِ شیرانی

(از ''مخزن'' مئی ۱۹۲۰ء)

ہے سرود خوان بے ثباتی یہ زبان ساز آفرینش
ولے تجھ سے ہے فضول کہنا کہ تجھے ذرا نظر نہیں ہے
تو تمام کرلے کام اپنا کہ ہے آفتاب ڈوبنے کو
ترے سر پہ شب وہ آ رہی ہے کہ جسے حشر تک سحر نہیں ہے
وہ مقام پر پہنچ گئے ہیں کہ بھٹک رہے ہیں راستے میں
جو چلے گئے ہیں ہم سے آگے ہمیں ان کی کچھ خبر نہیں ہے
تجھے حیف ہے جو کہیے انساں ترے دل میں درد جب نہیں ہے
نہیں درد جس کو آدمی کا مری رائے میں وہ بشر نہیں ہے
جو تلاش خضر رہ نہیں ہے تو ہے بجز سود ہم کو بے شک
کہ حجاب ایزدی کے پیچھے مرا اور ترا گزر نہیں ہے
تجھے جب خدا نے دی بزرگی تو رفاہ عام پر نظر رکھ
کہ ہمیشہ ننگ بوستاں ہے وہ درخت جو بارور نہیں ہے
تمھیں ہر گھڑی ہے یہ تردد نہ ہو پرخطر عدم کی منزل
جہاں رات دن ہے آنا جانا وہ مقام پرخطر نہیں ہے
میں بنایا کس لیے گیا ہوں مجھے گر خیال ہے تو یہ ہے
کہ فضول باغبان بوتا کبھی باغ میں شجر نہیں ہے

☆☆☆☆☆

ایک دوست کی وفات پر ☆

(از ماہنامہ ''خیالستان'' لاہور، اپریل ۱۹۳۰ء)

ضیائے چشم مشتاقاں ہمارا روئے روشن تھا
کبھی ہم پر بھی مرتے تھے، کبھی ہم پر بھی جوبن تھا
کبھی مانند گل، باغ جہاں میں ہم بھی ہنستے تھے
ہمیں بھی صورت بلبل کبھی سودائے گلشن تھا
پری رویوں کی محفل میں بسر اوقات کرتے تھے
پری زادوں کی صحبت تھی، پری خانے میں مسکن تھا
ہوا بے ہوش وہ جس نے ہماری دیکھ لی صورت
ہمارا گھر بھی گویا غیرت وادیٔ ایمن تھا
بہت آتے تھے غش ہم کو بھی فریاد عنادل سے
دل نازک پہ اپنے بار، ان کا شور و شیون تھا
کسی کا ساعد سیمیں ہمارا بالش سر تھا
کسی کا دست بلوریں ہمارے زیب گردن تھا
یہ باتیں خواب کی تھیں زندگانی نام ہے جس کا
کہ پھر آرام گاہ جاودانی کنج مدفن تھا
نہال نوجوانی میں ابھی پھوٹی نہ تھی کونپل
بہار زندگی میں کھیلتا اب تک لڑکپن تھا
ہوا تھا چودھواں آخر، پندرھواں سال آیا تھا
کہ سر پر اب، زمان ہجر جان و فرقت تن تھا
ستارے جھلملاتے تھے، ابھی کچھ رات باقی تھی
کہ اپنا عیش گاہ دہر سے آہنگ رفتن تھا
عزیز و خویش تھے موجود، سارے ہم کو روتے تھے

☆ نوشتہ ۱۸۹۸ء۔

کسی کی آنکھ میں آنسو ، کسی کے لب پہ شیون تھا
عدم آباد وہ ، گور غریباں جس کو کہتے ہیں
اسی وحشت سرا میں اپنی منزل تھی نشیمن تھا
جب آنکھیں کھول کر دیکھا ، تو دیکھا ہم نے شیرانی
غبار دشت ، چشم نازنیں پر ، سینکڑوں من تھا
صنوبر کے کھڑے تھے کچھ شجر ، عبرت برستی تھی
ہماری قبر پر مہتاب ، تنہا لمعہ افگن تھا

☆☆☆☆☆

افکار

(از ماہنامہ ''خیالستان'' لاہور، اگست ۱۹۳۰ء)

رفتم شبی بگور غریباں گریستم
برحال زار تربت یاراں گریستم
بر روی شاھدی کہ سپردیم زیر خاک
پیدا نگاہ کردم و پنہاں گریستم
برباد شد مکان و مکینان نیامدند
بر انتظار خانۂ ویراں گریستم
برسعی رایگان غریبی شدم غمین
بر زرع نادرودۂ دھقاں گریستم
بس اشک ھا کہ ریختہ چشمم بر آن زمین
یاراں بخواب و من سراپشاں گریستم

☆☆☆☆☆

غزل

(از ماہنامہ ''رومان'' لاہور، اپریل ۱۹۳۷ء)

دل سیر ہوگیا ہے بے مہریٔ بتاں سے
تنگ آئے ہیں گلوں سے جاتے ہیں گلستاں سے
کس کی کریں شکایت ، تقدیر آسمانی!
چھوٹے اگر قفس سے ، پالا پڑا خزاں سے
روؤ گے یاد کر کے ، پچھتاؤ گے کیے پر!
ناحق خفا ہوئے ہو دو دن کے میہماں سے
ناصح نے جو کہا ہے یہ ان کا حسن ظن ہے
ہم اور بگاڑ لیتے اک دوست مہرباں سے
دنیا ہے دارفانی ، اہل ورم سے کہہ دو
کیا لائے تھے یہاں تم ، لے جاؤ گے جو یاں سے؟
اے رہروان عالم! بہرخدا بتا دو؟
جاتے ہو تم کدھر کو آئے ہو تم کہاں سے؟
کیوں ناز ہے بتوں کو اس فتنہ زا روش پر؟
سیکھیں ستم کی چالیں کچھ دن وہ آسماں سے!
کیوں فخر ہے گلوں کو دو روزہ زندگی پر؟
غافل ہوئے ہیں ناداں کیوں موسم خزاں سے؟
ذوق سخن نہیں ہے یاران بے خبر میں
ہم لیں گے داد جا کر حالی خوش بیاں سے (۱۹۰۴ء)

☆☆☆☆☆

تبرکات

(از پندرہ روزہ ''آج کل'' دہلی، یکم فروری ۱۹۴۷ء)

گر کروں شرح ستم گاریٔ تحریرِ جبیں
عرصۂ حشر بنے میرے قصیدے کی زمیں
ہائے واژونی قسمت کہ نہ دولت ہے نہ صبر
وائے نیرنگیٔ تقدیر نہ دنیا ہے نہ دیں
کاوشِ خونِ جگر دل کو تسلی دیتی
دہر میں رسمِ وفا کا کوئی ہوتا آئیں
داغ بر سینہ ہوں اور خونِ تمنا در دل
سرِ فرہاد ہے مجھ کو نہ ہوائے شیریں
اشک در دیدہ ہوں اور شکوۂ اختر بزباں
نہ دماغِ گل و گلشن نہ ہوائے نسریں
ہوں نظارہ کنِ عالم بہ تحیر لیکن
سازو سامانِ گماں ہے نہ سرو برگِ یقیں
ماتمِ اہلِ وفا ہوں نہ نشاطِ طفلاں
سر ہوں میں بر دمِ شمشیر نہ دستِ گلچیں
عبرتِ اہلِ جہاں ہوں نہ تماشائے بہار
حسرتِ شمعِ فسردہ ہوں نہ خوابِ شیریں
پھرتا حیران ہوں مثلِ گل بازی ہر سو
فخرِ آشفتہ مزاجی ہوں نہ نازِ تمکیں
کیوں ہیں سرگرمِ تسلی مرے ہمدم یارب
کہیں مٹتی ہے مٹائے سے یہ تحریرِ جبیں
ہوش دیوانگی بہتر کہ نہ شر ہو نہ فساد
طورِ بیگانگی بہتر کہ نہ فتنہ ہو نہ کیں
ترکِ فرزانگی بہتر کہ نہ دل ہو نہ دماغ

طرز آوارگی بہتر کہ نہ دنیا ہو نہ دیں
ہم کو معلوم ہے یاروں کی حقیقت ساری
ہم نے دیکھا اثر ماتم دلہائے حزیں
میری امید ہے وہ جو ہے گلوگیر اجل
میرے ارمان ہیں وہ جو کہ مقدر میں نہیں
داعیٔ مرگ جو آئے تو پڑھوں میں لبیک
ملک الموت جو آئے تو کہوں میں آمیں
نقش برآب ہیں قانون قضائے قدرت
خاک ہیں عیش و غم دہر و نقوش تکویں
اثر نقش قدم جوہر ہستی مکاں
نفس سرد وفا خون تمنائے مکیں
خاک ہوں اور مرا عرش پہ جاتا ہے دماغ
داغ ہوں لیکن ابھی ہے ہوس نقش و نگیں
موج یک قطرۂ دریا ہوں مگر طوفاں خیز
چشم حیران تماشا ہوں مگر ہوں خود بیں
خاکساری پہ مری تم نہ بہانا آنسو
میں نے آنکھوں میں چھپا رکھا ہے بت خانۂ چیں
سادہ لوحی پہ مری کوئی نہ جانا ہرگز
میری صورت سے عیاں ہے مری شان تمکیں
سرد آہوں سے مری زنگ کدورت ہو عیاں
"جوہر آئینہ جز یک الف بیش" نہیں
شکوۂ بخت غلط ، شوق تمنا ناخوب
دشت بیداد سے رہتا ہوں میں فریاد گزیں
رات دن جلوۂ احباب سے آنکھیں تھیں چمن
مردم چشم کہاں ہیں وہ ترے پیارے مکیں؟
میں تو میں ، غیر بھی شرمندۂ احساں ہوں گے

گر مرے خون سے ہو صحن گلستاں رنگیں
غیر سے کیوں ہے مجھے اپنی تباہی کا گلہ
مجھ کو احباب نے بھولے سے نہ دی تھی تسکیں
میری بے دردی سے پژمردہ ریاض رضواں
میری بے مہری سے افسردہ چراغ بالیں
ہوش عاشق ہوں کہ ہو آمد محبوب سے گم
فکر دانا ہوں مگر سیل حوادث سے غمیں
کس پہ میں ناز کروں جب کہ نہ جوہر ہے نہ ذات
کس پہ اتراؤں یہاں تو نہ کماں ہے نہ کمیں
شدت رنج و غم و درد زمان غربت
کیا بیاں کیجیے کہ اب رخصت گفتار نہیں

☆☆☆☆☆

غزل

(از ''اورینٹل کالج میگزین'' شیرانی نمبر، فروری ۱۹۴۷ء)

بیا ز گور غریباں قدم دریغ مدار
ز اشک آستیں وز دیدہ نم دریغ مدار
زباں بفاتحہ بکشا و لب بہ آہ و فغاں
کلام حسرت و اندوہ و غم دریغ مدار
بیاد آر ازاں رفتگان پیشینہ
ز ذکر قصہ کاؤس و جم دریغ مدار

مطلع ثانی

بیا ز پرسش اصحاب غم دریغ مدار
کرم اگر نتوانی ستم دریغ مدار
ز نوش و تلخی دوراں حساب ہیچ مگیر
بگیر ساغر و دست کرم دریغ مدار
گہی بہ میکدہ شو گاہ سوی بت خانہ
گہی ز رفتن بیت الحرم دریغ مدار

☆☆☆☆☆

مفلسی ☆

مفلسی کی زندگانی کچھ نہیں
اس کی طفلی اور جوانی کچھ نہیں

وہ بھی جینا ہے کہ جس میں مر مٹیں
ٹھوکریں کھاتے ہوئے در در پھریں

بے زری بھی ایک وبال جان ہے
دشمن دیں دشمن ایمان ہے

سینکڑوں عیب اک تہی دستی میں ہیں
ذلتیں لاکھ اس کی اک پستی میں ہیں

مفلسی میں عزت و رفعت کہاں
فاقہ مستی میں بھلا راحت کہاں

یہ مٹاتی ہے شرافت کا نشاں
ہے وجاہت کی اڑاتی دھجیاں

پیٹ سے فاقہ طبیعت خوش، غلط
منہ سے کہنے کی ہیں یہ باتیں فقط

تنگ رہتا ہو جو مایحتاج سے
پوچھ حال زیست اس محتاج سے

طاعت و زہد و عبادت ، اتقا
غیرت و شرم و حمیت اور حیا

اتفاق ، ایثار ، ہمت ، ہوش و عقل
اعتقاد ، ایمان ، استقلال ، عدل

دل لگی ، شوخی ، شرارت ، ولولے
فارغ البالی کے ہیں سب چونچلے

جو مصیبت میں ہو اپنی مبتلا
دوسروں کی وہ کرے گا فکر کیا

ہو نہ جس عاجز کو کھانا تک نصیب
رنج سہتے تھک گیا ہو جو غریب

فکر جس کو پیٹ کی ہر دم رہے
بھوک کے صدمے جو بیش و کم سہے

اس کو کیا دنیا ترقی گر کرے
اس کو کیا گر قوم فاقوں سے مرے

☆ یہ نظم بھی غالباً ''انتخاب لاجواب'' میں چھپی تھی۔

ہنس کا نغمہ

آئی نسیم باغ میں مرغِ سحر چلے
اے یادگار اٹھ کہ ترے ہم سفر چلے

ظاہر ہوا اس آمد و شد کا نہ مدعا
آئے تھے بے خبر وہی ہم بے خبر چلے

پیدا کیے نصیب کا لکھا تمام عمر
جس کام کو ہم آئے تھے وہ کام کر چلے

جاتے ہیں خالی ہاتھ گلستان دہر سے
اک سنگ آرزو ہے جو سینے پہ دھر چلے

اے رہروان منزل ہستی بتاؤ تو
آئے ہو تم کہاں سے یہاں اور کدھر چلے

مت پوچھ بزم یار کا احوال ہم صفیر
ہنستے ہوئے ہم آئے تھے باچشم تر چلے

ہم ایسے ٹھہرے منزل فانی میں جس طرح
آئے سرا میں شب کو مسافر سحر چلے

فرصت نہ ٹھہرنے کی ملی باغ دہر میں
مثل نسیم ہم ادھر آئے ادھر چلے

اللہ خیر کیجئیو رہزن ہیں گھات میں
آتے ہیں لوگ قافلے کے بے خبر چلے

مجنوں و کوہکن گئے اور ہم بھی جائیں گے
یعنی وہ ہم سے چند قدم پیشتر چلے

ہر ہر قدم پہ ہے یہاں کھٹکا لگا ہوا
رہرو نہ راستے میں کبھی بے خطر چلے

....

مانا کہ تصرف میں ہے وہ ماہ سے لے تا ماہی
بے چین بہت رہتا ہے جس سر پہ ہے تاج شاہی
لے توشہ رہ ساتھ اپنے اور کوچ کی کر تیاری
تنہا تجھے جانا ہوگا ، ہوگا نہ کوئی ہم راہی
ہر شے ہے فنا آمادہ ادنیٰ ہو وہ یا ہو اعلیٰ
درویشوں کی کیا درویشی کیا شاہوں کی شاہنشاہی

☆☆☆☆

اشاریہ

مقالاتِ حافظ محمود شیرانی، جلد نہم

مرتبہ

مظہر محمود شیرانی

علامات: ''ت'' = تعارف، ''ح'' = حاشیہ

۱۔اشخاص و کردار

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۷۔ ادوار و اوقات

۸۔ اصطلاحاتِ آتش بازی و سلحشوری

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۱۰۔ اصطلاحاتِ عمومی

الف

II) Professor Najib Ashraf of Ismail College, Andheri: has a collection of two hundred works and manuscripts, some of which I notice here:-

1) *Yusuf wa Zulaikha* of Hashmi in Gujari dialect. This poet lived in the 17th century.

2) An Anthology of various Gujari and Dakni poets who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries.

3) Another Anthology of a similar type.

4) A meterical vocabulary containing the Arabic Persian and Gujari words by an anonymous author. This work though copied in the middle of the 18th century belongs to an earlier period not later than the 16th century.

BARODA

There is a library in the Jame' Masjid founded by the late Nawab Sadr-uddin Khan but it contains printed books only.

IV.) Syed Manzur Hasan urf Husaini Pir has an important collection of works and manuscripts chiefly on the lives of the Gujarat saints, also a number of Gujari books written in the 16th century. Here I mention two only:

1) **Misbah ul A'lam** or **Malfuzi Kabiri** by Syed Abdul Malik b. Syed Mohammad Alawi d. 1072. This work has a short note on Bibi Khandkarni whose Mua'milat is described above.

2) **Mirqa't ul Wusul Ila Allah-i-ver Rasul** by Mohammad-i Qasim. This is a very important work on the life of Sheikh Ahmed Khattu the famous saint of Gujarat who died in 849 A. H.

Besides these there are other collections but the owners are not willing to show them to any one; for instance the Qazi of Ahmedabad has a good collection but he allows no one to see it.

BOMBAY

I. The Library of Mohammadia School attached to the Jame' Masjid, Bombay has about five thousand books and manuscripts. A descriptive catalogue of it was printed in 1341 A. H. There is a Reading Room which opens daily at regular hours. Here I note a few important works:

1) *Al Wujuh va Al Naza'ir* dated 731 A. H.

2) *Al Muhazzab* of Imam Abul Ishaq Ibrahim b. Ali b. Yusuf of Shi'raz, dated 730 A. H.

3) *Hashiyat us Sa'd ala Al Azd* by Sa'dullah Taftazani Author's autograph copy, dated 770 A. H.

4) *Diwan of Qazi Abu Bakr Ahmed b. Mohammad Arjani Tasturi,* dated 565 A. H.

5) *Al Muqa'mat ul Haririah,* dated 605 A. H.

6) *Diwan-i-Tusi* copied for the Library of Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah of Hyderabad, Deccan.

7) *Diwan-i-Wali Aurangabadi,* copied by Shahsawar Beg in the 21st regnal year of Mohammad Shah. In the colophon of this copy there is a chronogram of Wali's death which yields the year 1118 A.H.

1) "Rasm-ul-Musahif" by Imam Ta'j-ul-qurra' Zain-ul-Mufassirin Abi-l Qasim Mohammad b. Hamza b. Nasr, dated 669 A. H., and copied by Abdul Baqi b. Abi Mohammad b. Al Khalil.

2) Copy of a Quran in Beha'ri Character with illuminated *sarlohs* etc., and Persian translation. A good specimen of decorator's art, dated 894 A.H. The owner Sha'di' Mohammad copied it for himself.

3) Kulliya't va Juzviya't-i-Nakshabi. Indian Ta'liq, dated 831 A. H.

4) *"Mifta'h ul Oulu'b va Iza'latul Kuru'b"*: A work on the biography and miracles of Qazi Mahmu'd Birpuri by Abdul Razaq known as Islam Khan.

5) A collection of Gujari Mathnavi's by different authors namely (a*) Hujjat ul Baqa* by Shah Buran d. 990 A. H. – 1582 A. C., dated 1097 A. H. (b) *Mundi Nama* by Syed Ali , dated 1099 A. H. (c) *Kashf ul Wujud* by Sheikh Dau'd a disciple of Shah Burhan. (d) *Shahadat ul Haqiqat* by Shah Burhan. (e) *Safar Tamasha* by Syed Ali.

II.) **The Collection of Syed Bara Saheb:** the linal heir and successor of Shah Wajih uddin of Gujarat, who lived in the 16th century. Bara Saheb has a few and selected works. Among these the most valuable is the *Mua'milat va Muka'-shifa't* of Bibi Khandkarni. This lady saint first describes her dream (here called Mua'mila) in Persian prose and then she introduces a Gujari poem which suits the occasion. Each dream bears a date. These dreams which are numerous run between the years 939-942 A. H. and contain several references about Bahadur Shah (932-43 A. H. 1526-36 A.C.) the king of Gujarat and his defeat by the Mughals.

III.) **The Collection of Syed Jalal uddin Mashhadi:** known as Kalu Mian saheb a direct descendent of the famous saint of Gujarat Syed Sharf uddin Mashhadi buried at Baroach. The Gujari Diwan of Qazi Mahmud of Birput is an important item of this collection.

Report of my Tour in search of Gujari Literature, During the month of September 1935.

JAPUR

I saw a portion of a Library, belonging to Da'irah near Khandela which was by chance brought over to Jaipur in connection with a Law-suit which was going on between two factions of Da'irah for the election of their religious head. The Da'irah people belong to the Mahdivi' sect of Islam. This portion comprised of about one hundred manuscripts, particularly rich in Mahdivi literature. Besides the two illuminated Qura'ns written in the pre-Mughal style of the 15th century, which from the point of view of the Indian decorative Art must rank very high, the following are some of the important works:-

1) The letters and correspondence of Mian Mustafa the Head of Da'irah Mahdivies who flourished during the 16th century.

2) "Faiz-i-A'm"—a biographical account in verse of the above saint Mian Mustafa compiled in the middle of the 18th century. These works also contain a few Gujari poems by the saint.

AHMEDABAD

There are several public and private collections at Ahmedabad some of which I note below:-

I. The Durgah Library of Pir Mohammad Shah

It was lately rounded by the efforts of the present Imam of the Durgah and contains about five thousand books and manuscripts. It has a Catalogue and a Reading Room, which may be visited by appointment with the Imam. The Library contains a number of valuable manuscripts of which I mention a few here:-

APPENDIX-V

Numerical Summary of Silver Coins.

Greek	8	Jahangir.	369
Parthian.	22	Dawar Bakhsh.	1
Abrab Governors.	34	Nur Jahan.	34
Banu Umayyad.	20	Shahjahan	374
Banu Abbasid etc.	73	Shuja.	1
Punch Mark.	80	Murad Bakhsh.	5
Dang.	14	Aurangzeb.	392
Ghazna.	90	Azam.	1
Ghaur-o-Khwarazm	24	Shah Alam.	122
Iltutmish.	2	Jahandar.	22
Masud.	8	Farrukh Siyar.	112
Mahmud.	26	Rafi-ud-Darajat.	11
Balban.	30	Shahjahan II.	12
Kaikubad.	7	Ibrahim.	2
Khilji.	54	Muhammad Shah.	308
Tughlaq.	11	Ahmad Shah.	64
Miscellaneous.	70	Alamgir II.	48
Malwa & Gujrat.	90	Shahjahan III	1
Mongol etc.	24	Shah Alam II.	242
Suri.	117	Akbar II.	63
Babar & Humayun	35	Bahadur Shah.	59
Akbar.	738	Persian & Durrani Kings (Miscellaneous).	180

APPENDIX-IV

Numerical Summary of Gold Coins.

Banu Umayyad.	2
Banu Abbasid.	3
Khalf b. Ahmad.	9
Hussain b. Tahir.	2
Mansur b. Nooh.	1
Mahmud Ghazna.	3
Abu Saeed Masud.	1
Farrukh Zad.	3
Qara Arsaian Bak.	1
Ibrahim b. Masud.	1
Imam-ud-din Abu Shuja.	1
Tukkish Khwarazm Shah.	1
Ghias-ud-Din Muhammad-i-Sam.	1
Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam.	5
Abul Fath Ala-ud-Din.	1
Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud.	1
Balban.	1
Kaikubad.	1
Jalal-ud-din.	2
Ala-ud-Din Muhm. Shah	2
Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah	1
Khusraw Shah.	1
Muhammad b. Tughlaq.	12
Feroze Shah.	1
Ghias-ud-Din Mahmud	1
Hoshang Shah Ghauri of Malwa.	2
Ala-ud-Din Mahmud.	1
Ghias Shah Wali Ahad-i-Ala-ud-Din Mahmud	1
Ghias Shah	1
Nasir Shah b. Ghias Shah.	1
Ibrahim Sharqi.	1
Husain Shah Sharqi.	1
Humayun Shah Deccan.	2
Muzaffar Shah Gujrati.	1
Ghias-ud-Din Mahmud Shah.	1
Sher Shah Soor.	4
Islam Shah Soor.	1
Sultan Muhammad Adil Soor.	1
Humayun.	3
Akbar.	16
Jahangir.	5
Shahjahan.	10
Aurangzeb.	14
Shah Alam Bahadur.	5
Jahandar Shah.	3
Furrukh Siyar.	5
Shahjahan-II	1
Muhammad Shah.	4
Ahmad Shah Bahadur.	3
Alamgir II.	4
Shah Alam II.	2
Muhammad Bahadur Shah II.	2
Greek.	1
Abaqa Khan.	1
Sulaiman b. Saleem.	1
Nadir Shah.	1
Taimur shah.	2
Queen Victoria.	1
Nisar Jahangir.	1
Muhammad Shah.	1
Ahmad Shah.	1
Nasir-ud-Din Shah.	1
Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah.	1
Hindi.	1

APPENDIX-III

A Comparison of dated and undated. Manuscripts with R A S B. 1924

Shairani Collection. (Total-2210)			R A S B. 1924 (Total-1781)		
Century.	Dated.	Undated.	Century.	Dated.	Undated
5th	1	2	5th	-	-
6th	1	4	6th	-	-
7th	3	8	7th	1	-
8th	4	13	8th	-	1
9th	23	16	9th	5	7
10th	46	31	10th	33	29
11th	111	Not counted	11th	73	107

101.	1095-1683	1870	Chaghmini.
102.	1095-1683	17	Diwan-i-Zahuri.
103.	1098-1686	182	Nal wa Daman-i-Faidi.
104.	1098-1686	699	Har sih Daftar-i-Abulfadl.
105.	1098-1686	770	Nuzhat al Arwah.
106.	1098-1686	815	Badai'ul Insha.
107.	1098-1686	1260	Makhzan-i-Asrar-i-Nizami.
108.	1098-1686	1988	Sharh-i-Hadiqa-i-Sanai.
109.	1099-1687	214	Diwan-i-Saib.
110.	1099-1687	1266	Hashiya-i-Mulla Mirza Jan.
111.	1099-1687	1514	Sharh-i-Anwari by Farahani.
112.	1099-1687	2041	Risala dar Sana'i wa `Arud.

65.	1070-1659	113	Sharh-Ī-Qiran us-Sa'dain.
66.	1070-1659	969	Nazm-I-Nik
67.	1070-1659	372	Tarikh-i-Mu'Jam.
68.	1073-1662	853	Manafi'ul Muslimin.
69.	1073-1662	485	Tuhfatul Ahrar.
70.	1073-1662	1991	'Ain al Hayat.
71.	1074-1663	200	Dastur al wuzara.
72.	1074-1663	84	Makhzan-i-Asrar
73.	1076-1665	815	Tuhfa-I-Mufid dar Insha.
74.	1076-1665	1183	Tarikh-i-Humayun az Jauhar.
75.	1076-1665	1491	Lataif al khiyal.
76.	1076-1665	2113	Raji Rabi's.
77.	1078-1667	614	Hadiqa-i-Sinai.
78.	1079-1668	501	Qasida-i-Burda.
79.	1079-1668	2134	Risala-i-Saidiyya.
80.	1080-1669	2134	2) Asbab al 'Alamat.
81.	1080-1669	2059	Nal wa Daman-i-Faidi.
82.	1080-1669	1629	2) Malfuz-I-Khwaja Uways.
83.	1080-1669	1128	Subhatul Abrar-i-Jami.
84.	1080-1669	1018	Kanz al Daqaiq.
85.	1080-1669	387	Akhlaq-i-Jalali.
86.	1081-1670	676	Silsilatudh Dhahab-i-Jami.
87.	1084-1673	1162	Nal wa Daman-I-Faizi.
88.	1084-1673	1995	Diwan-i-Ibn-i-Yamin.
89.	1086-1675	803	Abyat-i-Shatibi.
90.	1088-1677	1405	Muhazzibul Asma.
91.	1088-1677	1673	'Uyun al Shar'a.
92.	1089-1678	193	A book in Arabic.
93.	1090-1679	1275	Tuhfatul 'Iraqain.
94.	1091-1680	1067	Subhatul Abrar-i-Jami.
95.	1092-1681	1142	Risala dar Hisab.
96.	1092-1681	2076	Matla'ul Anwar-i-Khusraw.
97.	1094-1682	206	Subhatul Abrar-i-Jami.
98.	1094-1682	1453	Diwan-i-Hafiz.
99.	1094-1683	1911	Fatawa-i-Hammadiyya.
100.	1095-1683	1710	Quran-i-Sharif copied by Md. Ibrahim.

32.	1046-1636	1488	Haft Iqlim-i-Amin Ahmad-i-Razi.
33.	1046-1636	188	Risala-i-Ta'bir-i-Khwab.
34.	1049-1639	428	Ahadith-i-Muntakhaba.
35.	1049-50-1639-40	1586	Kashkaul-i-Bahauddin-i-`Amuli.
36.	1050-1640	1323	Tabaqat-i-Akbari.
37.	1050-1640	1922	Dibacha-i-Ghurratul Kamal.
38.	1050-1640	2093	Tuhfatul `Iraqain.
39.	1051-1641	1022	Tafsir-i-Sura-i-Yusuf.
40.	1051-1641	286	Risala-i-Ta'lim-i-Asp.
41.	1052-1642	1937	4) Maktubat-i-Abdul Qadir Jilani.
42.	1054-1644	1996	Majalis al Mominin.
43.	1054-1644	1609	
44	1055-1645	1251	Silkus Sulk-i-Nakhshabi.
45.	1055-1645	1060	Risala-i-Libas-i-An Hadrat.
46.	1056-1646	1438	Lawaih-i-Jami.
47.	1057-1647	1276	Sharh-i-Risala-i-Hisab.
48.	1057-1647	607	Hashiyatul Khatai.
49.	1058-1648	1434	Rushd Nama.
50.	1059-1649	933	2) Al Sajawandi.
51.	1062-1651	1069	Mahr-o-Mushtari of `Attar.
52.	1062-1651	1076	An Anthology of prose & poetry.
53.	1062-7-1651-6	1475	Bayad of Jaimal Thar.
54.	1063-1652	1835	Lubab al Akhbar.
55.	1064-1653	1522	Risala-i-Sultan `Ali Mashhadi.
56.	1065-6-1654-5	1670	Chishtiya Bahishtiya.
57.	1066-1655	1641	3) Shah-o-Gada az Hilali.
58.	1066-1655	1467	Kashf al Rumuz.
59.	1067-1656	1204	Diwan-i-Asifi.
60.	1067-1656	919	Treatise of Abd ul Quddus Gangohi.
61.	1068-1657	603	Sharh-i-Mawaqif.
62.	1069-1658	138	Diwan-i-Husain Thanai.
63.	1069-1658	2175	Nisab-i-Nasib-i-Ikhwan.
64.	1070-1659	645	Risala-i-Sanai'wa Badai'.

APPENDIX-II

Dated Mss. belonging to the XI c/XVII c.

S.No.	Date Hijri & Christian	No. of The Book	Name of the Book
1.	1002-1593	2159	Tuhfatus Sultan.
2.	1002-1593	345	Risala-i-'Arabi.
3.	1003-1594	827	Sharh-i-Nuzhatul Arwah.
4.	1004-1595	1860	Tibbi-i-Shihabi.
5.	1005-1596	513	Majma'ul Bahrain.
6.	1005-1596	226	Lawaih wa Sharh-i-Lawaih.
7.	1006-1597	2023	Tanqidud Durar.
8.	1006-1597	1059	Ganj ut Talibin.
9.	1009-1600	124	Diwan-i-Wahshi.
10.	1010-1601	1543	Bustan-i-Sa'di.
11.	1011-1602	757	Sharh-I-Makhzan-i-Asrar.
12.	1012-1603	594	Tafsir-I-Husaini, Vol 1
13.	1013-1604	1503	Sirr-i-Maktum.
14.	1016-1607	1553	Kalimat-i-Amirul Mominin 'Ali.
15.	1017-1608	1577	Diwan-i-Salai.
16.	1017-1608	1585	Ikhtiyarat-i-Qutb Shahi.
17.	1021-1612	91	Mantiq ut Tair.
18.	1022-1613	151	Tuhfatul Ahrar.
19.	1023-1614	2054	Tadhkira-i-Dawlat Shah.
20.	1025-1616	614	5) Kitab al Sawanih.
21.	1025-1616	100	Zikr-i-Hakim Nasir-i-Khusraw.
22.	1025-1616	1719	Himail Sharif.
23.	1026-1617	1583	Diwan-i-Hafiz.
24.	1027-1618	1909	Jam-i-Jam of Auhadi Kirmani.
25.	1030-1620	435	2) Wuquf-i-Sajawandi.
26.	1030-1620	1730	Himail Sharif.
27.	1033-1623	341	Tafsir-i-Husaini.
28.	1033-1623	454	Kulliyat-i-Khaqani.
29.	1039-1629	395	Silk al Suluk.
30.	1040-1630	1601	Risala dar Amrad-i-Sibyan.
31.	1040-1630	1130	Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri.

64.	980-1572	378	Ganjul Asrar.
65.	980-1572	1657	Raudatus-Safa.
66.	981-1573	1655	Khamsa-i-Khusraw.
67.	982-1574	2168	Tafsir-i-Sura-I-Yusuf.
68.	983-1575	1640	Qiranus Sa''dayn.
69.	983-1575	2135	Mukhtasar Aqida-i-Ahl-i-sunnat.
70.	985-1577	2179	Sharh-i-Zanjani.
71.	992-1584	1847	Raudatul Jinan.
72.	994-1585	604	Kashfuil Mahjub.
73.	994-1585	379	Ilahi Nama-i-`Attar.
74.	994-1585	1596	Mathnawi-i-Faiz
75.	994-1585	280	.... Majalis.
76.	995-1586	1684	Tadhkiratul Aulia.
77.	998-1589	1663	Shahnama-i-Flrdawsı.
78	998-1589	1559	Yusuf Zulaikha.

29.	884-1479	1661	Futuhat-i-Makkiyah.
30.	894-1488	1539	Diwan-i-Hafiz.
31.	896-1490	1993	Trans. Of Tarikh-i-Ibn khallikan
32.	899-1493	1679	Kafi fi Sharh-i-Wafi.
33.	901-1495	1642	Risalatul Bahaiyya.
34.	903-1497	1680	Taudhih fi Sharh-i-Tanqih.
35.	909-1503	2180	I'timad fi Sharhil I'tiqad.
36.	910-1504	236	Hisn-i-Hasin.
37.	914-1508	1644	Wafia Sharh-i-Qanuncha.
38.	914-1509	10	Hisn-i-Hasin.
39.	915-1509	161	Sharh Gulshan-i-Raz.
40.	917-1512	1628	Risala-i-Mu'taqad,
41.	919-1514	1906-7	Tafsir-i-Zahidi.
42.	920-1515	2171	Sharh-i-Qasida-i-Banat su'ad.
43.	924-1519	9	Hashia-i-Abdul Ghafur.
44.	926-1519	1651	Tanhbihul Ghafilin.
45.	928-1521	1664	Sharh-i-Sahih Muslim.
46.	929-1522	31	Sharh-i-Risala-i-Shamsiya.
47.	930-1530	1681	Majma'un Nawadir.
48.	935-1528	1587	Raudatul Ahbab.
49.	936-1529	1682	Fatawa-i-Qura Khwani.
50.	944-1537	2197	Yusuf Zulaikha.
51.	950-1543	14	Risala-i-Qadi Muntakhab.
52.	954-1547	175	Risala-i-Qabriyya-i-Baqrat Hakim.
53.	956-1549	226	Al Burhan Fi Alamat-i-Mahdi-i-Akhir-uz-Zaman.
54.	958-1551	1970	Hisn-i-Hasin.
55.	959-1552	704	Mishkat Sharif.
56.	959-1552	1549	Silsilatudh Dhahab.
57.	961-1553	1631	Risalatul Haliliyya.
58.	973-1565	1540	Tuhfatul Ahrar.
59.	974-1566	1683	'Aqidatul Muslimin.
60.	977-1569	1620	Risala-i-Jam'i Mukhtasar.
61.	977-1569	835	Anisut Talibin.
62.	977-1569	338	Risala-i-Ramzul 'Ushshaq.
63.	978-1570	1650	Diwan-i-Hafiz.

APPENDIX-I
List of dated Books till the Year 1000 H. 1591 C.

S. No.	Date Hijri & Christian	No. of The Book	Name of the Book
1.	412-1021	1881	Al'itquth thani minal Mudawwana
2.	520-1127	2200	Kitabul Istikhlaf.
3.	648-1250	1569	Sihah al Jauhari.
4.	653-1255	1570	Isharat.
5.	666-1267	1557	Akhlaq-i-Nasiri.
6.	726-1326	1527	Kitab al Lubab.
7.	782-1380	1654	Kitab al Kifayah.
8.	793-1391	2150	Fiqh al Akbar li Abil Fath Kamal.
9.	797-1395	1537	Ihya al Ulum (Persian tras.)
10.	807-1404	1652	Sharh-i-Mawaqif.
11.	808-1405	1518	Sharh-i-Hidayatul Hikma.
12.	810-1407	2201	Tafsir-i-Kashshaf.
13.	842-1438	1904	Kulliyat-i-abu Sahl-i-Masiki.
14.	845-1441	1555	Kulliyat-i-Anwari.
15.	845-1441	1904	Chpater II Ikhtiyarat-i-Ilahi.
16.	847-1443	1969	Mir Mutawwal.
17.	847-1443	1622	Sharh-i-Asma Ullah.
18.	848-1444	1622	12) Risala dar Marifat-i-Ilahi
19.	850-1446	1571	Sihah-i-Jauhari.
20.	859-1455	1675-76	Tafsir-i-Bahr-i-Mawwaj.
21.	860-1456	1588	Rasiala-i-Adab ul Faqr.
22.	860-1456	1677	Salat-i-Mas'udi.
23.	860-1456	1604	Rasala-dar- Karamat-i-Auliya
24.	860-1456	1608	Wasaya-i-Zain al khawwafi.
25.	864-1460	1678	Risala-i-Qushairiyah.
26.	872-1467	1647	Al Raudat-ul-Faiq.
27.	877-1472	1538	Khamsa-i-Nizami, copied by Azhar
28.	884-1479	1998	Hidayat ul Hikmah.

67. No. 1474
68. No. 942
69. No. 1478
70. No. 1541
71. No. 1665
72. No. 1649
73. No. 1670.
74. No. 1307.
75. No. 1883
76. No. 1210
77. No. . . .
78. No. 1825/2
79. No. 1825/6
80. No. 2074
81. No. 510, 564, 588 & 1341
82. 422 & 1325/1
83. No. 1363, 1380 & 2089/1
84. No. 1397/4
85. No. 1325/2
86. No. 1365
87. No. 877

39. No. 1548
40. No. 2197
41. No. 1540
42. No. 1553
43. No. 1551
44. No. 1585
45. No. 1543
46. No. 1704
47. No. 1715
48. No. 1727
49. No. 1597
50. No. 1488
51. No. 1491
52. No. 1490
53. No. 1482 Two volumes of this book (Alif-Shin) have been published by the University. (The remaining part has been published by The Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, Islamabad in three volume.)
54. No. 1495
55. No. 1501
56. No. 1502
57. No. 2280
58. No. 1477
59. No. 1471
60. No. 1472
61. No. 1473
62. No. 1361
63. No. 1476
64. No. 1503
65. No. 1475
66. No. 1479

9. Masud Baig Hajib
10. No. 1692.
11. No. 1685.
12. No. 1652
13. No. 1670-71.
14. No. 1515
15. No. 1616
16. No. 1605
17. No. 130
18. No. 1991
19. No. 165
20. No. 1506
21. No. 1429
22. No. 1507
23. No. 433
24. No. 1509
25. No. 1638
26. No. 1994
27. No. 2049
28. No.1257
29. No. 836
30. No. 2198-99
31. No. 1602
32. No. 1438/2
33. No. 2070
34. No. 2281
35. No. 1538
36. The teacher and guide of Sultan Ali Mashhadi, the celebrated calligraphist of Nastiliq.
37. No. 1539
38. No. 1541

The father Muhammad `Azim b. Mukhdum Abdul Karim has written:

1. No. 145 Nigar Nama (2) Gulzar-i-Ibrahim. (3) Khwan-i Khalil. (4) Nau Ras.
2. No. 840 Qasa'id-i `Urfi.
3. No. 861 Bostan ma' Sharh-i Anhar-ul Asrar wa Sharh-i Abd-ulwasi'. Hanswi.
4. No. 1150 (1) Insha'-i Munir ; (2) Nau Bawa-i Munir; (3) Har seh Daftar-i Abu'l Fadl;. (4) Makhzan Asrar Muhashsha.
5. Qasa'id Badar-i Chach, dated 1206 H.

The son Shihab-ud-Din b. Muhammad `Azim has copied:

1. No. I Asrar-i Samadi, dated 1223 H.
2. No. 16 Jamiul Qawanin dated 1223 H.
3. No. 852 (1) Qiran-us Sa'dain; (2) Karima; (3) Mahmud Nama. No date.

Foot Notes.

1. This note was written in the year 1940. In 1941 when the collection was finally handed over to the Punjab University it had 3490 manuscripts in 2262 bindings, 1710 printed (mostly rare & out of print) books, 13, Farmans, 421 Parwanas & documents, 187 seals, 8 fragmentry folios, 9 old and rare binding covers and 10 book cases. In 1945 Prof. Shairani gave 199 manuscripts and 478 printed books more to the Library as a gift More than 600 manuscripts were handed over to the Library by his family after his death in 1946.
2. No. 1880 & NO. 6374.
3. Its microfim was sent to Iran where it has been published.
4. No. 2200 Kitabul Istikhlaf.
5. No. 1585.
6. This manuscript is not traceable.
7. No. 1633.
8. No. 1660.

Hafiz, dated 897 H. bear illumination in the Persian style of the IX century H. (XV C.).

5. No. 1549 Silsilat-uz Zahhab-i Jami dated 959 H. ; No. 2197 Yusuf wa Zulaikha dated 944 H., No. 1559 Diwan-i Hafiz, small size; No. 1660 Shah Nama-i Qasimi; No. 1709. Quran, dated 944 H., ; No. 1720 Hima'il, dated 946 H.; No. 1704 Quran, in fragmentary state, dated 959 H. belong to the X century H. (XVI C.).
6. No. 1583 Diwan-i Hafiz, dated 1026 H.; No. 1585 Ikhtiyarat-i Qutb Shahi, dated 1017 H.; No. 1581 Gulistan-i Sa'di, copied by the order ot the Emperor Jahangir; No. 1586 Kashkol-i Baha'-uddin 'Amili, with numerous seals, dated 1049-50 H.; No. 1710 Quran dated 1095 H.; No. 1601 Rasala dar Amrad-i Sibyan by Hakim' Imad-uddin Mahmud dated 1040 H.; No. 1543 Bostan-i Sa'di, dated 1010 H. represent the XI century.

European Paper:

It appears that the European Paper made its way into the Eastern Countries much earlier than what it is commonly believed. There are six books written on European paper in the collection that have come to my notice. They are as follows:

1. No. 439 Bayan-i Mu'Jizat-i Ahl-i Bait.
2. No. 1647 al-Arud al-Fa'iq Fil Mawa'iz wad-daqa'iq dated 872 H. correspond. 1467 C.
3. No. 1793 Matan-ul Mawaqif, Not dated.
4. No. 1870 Chaghmini, dated 1095 H., correspond. 1684 C.
5. No. 1303 kitab Jam'ul Manasik, dated (9) 73 H,/1565 C.
6. No. 1145 Qasa'id-i Anwarı, XI century H. (XVII C.).
7. No. 2165 Tabwih ila Kashfi Haqaiq al Tanqib n.d./ X century.

It is interesting to note that two copyists, father and son, have contributed no less than a score of books to this collection. They are residents of Nanduwal?

8. No. 1594 Mathnawi-ı Radhi a mathnawi by the poet Razı, with eıghteen pictures of Lucknow style, belongs to late XII century H. (XVIII C.).
9. No. 1478 Bayad Nazm-o Nathr, over the signatures of Muhd. Shah of Jammu and Munshi Dina Nath Peshoria, dated 1178 H. and containing two pictures.
10. No. 1563 Diwan-i Hafiz, with 20 pictures in the Panjab style belonging to the last century.
11. No. 1566 Rasa il-i Zahuri, with nine pictures in Kashmıri style.
12. No. 1560 leaves from Sam Nama and Gulistan etc., with several good pictures in the Kashmiri style belonging to the XII century of Hijra (XVIII C.).
13. No. 1556 Shah Nama-i-Firdausi copied in 15th century with some miniatures.

Illuminated `Unwans:

1. No. 1708 Quran: No. 1532 Sirat ibn-i Hisham : No. 1787 Hayat-i Hayawan-il Kabir; and No. 1903 al-Kwakib-ul durari fi Sharh-il Bokhari have first pages illuminated ın the Western or the Egyptian style.
2. No. 1703 Quran of the XII century, following the Turani traditions, may be consıdered either Indian or of the Ghaznin School. Its illumination is faded and gone, yet at a glance one can be convinced that the style of illumination seen here has become the model for the later Bihari Qurans written in India. A Comparison of Nos. 1703 and 1705-6 would bear out this point clearly.
3. No. 1687 Ghazaliyat-i Qadımi Sa'di, contains two purely Indian Illuminations, but the Hima'il of No. 1725, written in Bihari character shows signs as if the Indian and the Egyptian arts were combined.
4. No. 1715 Quran dated 835 H. : No. 1556 Shah Nama; No. 1554 Ta'bir Nama; No. 1544 Sılsilat-uz Zahhabi-ı Jami; No. 1538 Khamsa-ı-Nizami, dated 877 H. No. 1539 Diwan-i

30. No. 1673 `Uyun-ush Sharh, by Qadi Ni'mat-ullah b. Tahır composed for Mahmud Shah Begra, the Ruler of Gujrat, dated 1088 H.
31. No. 1993 Wafiyat-ul A'yan, a Persian translation of Yusuf b. Ahmed b. `Usman b. Ali b. Ahmed Ash-Shi'ri, trans., in 893 H. and dedicated to Mahmud Begra of Gujrat, dated 896 H. ?
32. No. 1698 Shifa-ul `alil by karim b. Muhd, b. `Usman, alias Dabir-i-khan-iA'zam Qutlugh khan, written in Indian hand. Early X century H. (XVI C.).
33. No. 1591 Hidayat-ur Rami', a treatise on Archery by Muhd. Budh`urf Syed Mir `Alawi, dedicated to `Ala-uddin Husain Shah, the Ruler of Janupur, Bengal dated the 6 Julus of Ahmed shah (1166 H.).
34. No. 351 Kifayah-i Mujahidiyah, composed by Mansur b. Muhd. B. ahmed b. Yusuf for Sultan Zain-ul `Abidin, the Ruler of Kashmir.

Books with Paintings:

1. No. 1559 Yusuf Zulaikha, with illuminated border and gold linings with 12 pictures in the Mughal style of Akbar's period, dated Lahore 998 H. This is the earliest book which retains examples of Lahore painting in the reign of Emperor Akbar.
2. Bostan of Sa'di, with three double full page paintings, in the Persian style with figures damaged.
3. No. 1660 Shahinshah Nama-i Qasimi was Timar Nama-i Hatifi, with four double page illuminations and fifteen paintings. Late X century H. (XVI C.).
4. No. 2004 Diwan-i Hasani-i-Sijzi, with two paintings.
5. No. 2197 Yusuf wa Zulaikha, with three miniature paintings, dated 944 H., copied by Mahmud b. Nizam of Herat at Bokhara.
6. No. 1561 Laila Majnun Musawwar, by Hatifi with 31 pictures of Sindhi type, dated 1148 H.
7. No. 1562 Jawahir Nama. Siah Qalam Musawwar, with 24 pictures of celestial figures.

17. A tract named Mizan-ul 'adalat[87] compiled by Qiwam and dedicated to Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat, may be claimed as a contemporary document; incomplete.

A major portion of these books is of Indian origin. To these I add a few more composed in India:

18. No. 998 Risala-i-Usul Ibrahim Shahi, compiled by Shihab b. 'Umari Zawuli for Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, Ruler of Jaunpur.
19. No. 1039 Chihal Hadith by the same author, copied in 1238 H. by khalifa Mir Muhammad Ali.
20. No. 1525 Taisir-ul Ahkam, by the same author.
21. No. 1645 a traction Sirat-un Nabi by Mir Abdul Awwal b. Ali b. al-Hasan al-Husaini, compiled in 741 H., when the armies of Delhi and Khurasan were marching to Gujrat.
22. No. 1689 Bahr-ul Fada'il by Maulana Muhammad b. Qiwam b. Rustam, composed in 837 H.
23. No. 1531 Sirr-i-Maktum of Imam Fakhr-uddin Razi, translated by the order of Prince Rukn-uddin Firoz, dated 1013 H.
24. No. 1697 Fatawa-i Ghiyathiya, composed during the reign of Ghiyath-uddin Balban, bearing the seal of al-Mutawakkil 'al-Allah Muhammad Raja Husaini Gharib-ullah.
25. No. 1694 Kanz-ul ' Abbad fi Sharh-il Aurad, by Ahmed b. Ali Al-Ghori of Kara, compiled in 747 H.
26. Fawa'id-i-Firoz Shahi by Sharaf Muhd. Al-'ta'i, dedicated to Firoz Shah Tughlak, X century (XVI C)., written in Nasta'liq.
27. No. 1327 Tuhfat-us Sa'adat, composed in 916 H. and dadicated to Sikandar Lodhi, copied in 1102 H. at Bidar.
28. No. 1298 Sharh-i-Qasa'id-i Anwari, written at the command of Nasir Shah of Malwa.
29. No. 1607 Tuhfat-ul Majalis, translation of Imam Ghazali's Arabic tract, by Burhan b. Badr, dedicated to Sultan Mahmud khalji of Malwa.

2. No. 1676/7 Tafsir-i-Bahr-i-Mawwaj, dated 859 H.
3. No. 1677 Salwat-i-Mas'udi, dated 860 H. in early Nasta'liq script.
4. No. 1686 `Urwat-ul-Wuthqa by Shihabi, belonging to the second half of the IX century H. (XIV C.)
5. No. 1678 Risala-i-Qushairiya, dated 864 H. in Indian hand resembling the Naskhi character.
6. No. 1679 Kafi fi Sharh-i-Wafi, dated 899 H.
7. No. 1680 Taudih fi Sharh-it Tanqih fi `ilm-il Usul, 903 H.
8. No. 1906-7 Tafsir-i-Zahidi, dated 919 H.
9. No. 1664 Sharh-i-Sahih Muslim,. The date of its collection under the signature of Abdur Rahman b. Muhammad b. Shaikh Ali al-Gilani alias `Amid al-Mulk is given 928 H.
10. No. 1681 Maja'un Nawadir, a compilation of Faid-Ullah b. Zain-ul Abidin, b. Husam-uddin Banbani dedicated to Mahmud Begrah of Gujrat, composed in 903 H. The present copy is dated 930 H.
11. No. 1682 Fatawa-i-Quran khwani, collected by Maqbal Quran Khwan, dated 936 H. is in Indian as well as the Nasta'liq hand.
12. No. 14 Risala-i-Qadi Muntakhab, a collection of various traditions relating to Mahdi, with inter-linear Persian translation in red. Dated 950 H.
13. No. 1683 `Aqidat-ul Muslimin fi Usul-iddin, composed by Mahmud b. Ali b. Mahmud Halwai and dated 974 H.
14. No. 1684 Tadkirat-ul Auliya'-i `Attar, dated 995 H.
15. I refer here to No. 1688 – kulliyat-i-Sa'di, arranged alphabetically, including the Qasidas, Ghazilyat-o-Qat'at etc., copied in Indian as well as the Nastailiq type.

As regfards the Indian Nasta'liq, reference is made here to two items only, namely:

16. A fragmentary work on moral precepts and stories, copied in the Indian Nasta'liq. Probably belonging to the early X century, H. (XVI C.). The other being.

- i. No. 1369 Tuhfa-i-Panjab by Ajudhiya Parshad Tahsildar by the order of Major George Mc Gregor'? with reference to the Board of Administration. No date.
- j. No. 1370 Talism-i-Hakimi Ishaaq Roshan Damir, an original translation from Bostan-i-khayal by Mahdi Ali Dhaki in the reign of Nawwab Muhammad Said khan, the ruler of Rampur.
- k. No. 2083 Tawarikh-i-Murad by Syed Murad Shah, formerly political Agent and Chief Judge, Bahawalpur. A brief survey of general Indian History.

Indian or Bihari Script:

A speciality of this collection has been to procure what was not only composed in Indian but transcribed in the peculiar script of India. The term Bihari is imperfectly known. It is generally applied to peculiar bold script in which the holy Qurans are found written. As it has some resemblance with Kufi most people confuse Bihari script with kufi. Nothing is definitely known as to the origin of this term. It is I believe like the word Urdu (in the sense of language) of recent growth. We believe that before the advent of the Mughals this script was in vogue all over India for Quranic writing and we should look upon it as an indigenous script for it was never employed in countries outside India, like Persia, Arabia and Turkistan. Of course it has penetrated into Malaya Archipelago. Under the term Bihari we must include other scripts prevailing in India as for example (a) the script resembling the Khafi Ta'liq employed for the interlinear Persian translations of the Quran, often found written in red ink; (b) a bold script employed for writing Arabic and Persian books, documents, and inscriptions etc., universally used all over India; (c) Nasta'liq, which seems to be introduced from the IX century H. (XV. C.), and which was sparingly employed.

An effort has been made to secure specimens of these scripts an well as of Indian copositions, and I insert here the names of dated books only:

1. No. 1685 Turfat-ul-Fuqaha', compiled by Rukn belonging to the second half of the VIII century H. (XIV.).

l. No. 1507 Bakhshish Nama by Hafiz Ihsan Ullah of Lahore, completed in 1213 H.

m. No. 1291 a mystical Risala in verse, defective.

n. No. 727 Fath-ur-Ramz by Bhabbal b. Tannhu Dogra, compiled in 1250 H.

o. No. 566 Qissa'-i-khwaja Sulaiman, completed during the wars of the Sikhs and the English.

As to the other rare books in Urdue mention may be made of:

a. No. 1505 Diwan-i-Wali Muhammad, with pen-name Wali, copied by Thana Ullah Fani of Ahmedabad in the Eighth regnal year of Muhammad Shah (1138 H.). This is a very early copy of Wali's work and gives the correct reading of his name. The later wirters bring Muhammad first and Wali afterwards.

b. No. 1336 Pem kahani, a Dakani poem copied in 1123 H.

c. No. 1331 a Mathnawi in Dakani verse beginning with "Ai Roop Tira Ratti Ratti Hai, Parbat Parbat Patti patti Hai," composed in the reign of Alamgir and copied in 1268 H.

d. No. 1882 Diwan-i-Ghalib. This copy was presumably made before the poet undertook his journey ot Calcutta, as some of the Ghazals that he wrote during his itinerary are entered by the owner in the margin of this copy saying: Az Bandah Farastadand:

e. No. 1635 Diwan-i-Nasikh, a good copy belonging to the author's period.

f. No. 1594 a mathnawi poem by Razi, who probably wrote at Lucknow about the end of the XII century H. (XVIII C.). No other copy of this work is known to me.

g. No. 692 Mi'raj Nama by Qasim, dated 1250 H.

h. No. 1652 Nau Tarzi-i-Murassa' by Muhammad `Ata Husain Khan, Tahsin, dated 1213 H., formerly belonging to James Martin.

g. Shah Muhammad Ramadan is the author of the first half of the XIII century H. (XIX C). His three works (a) Akhir Gat, (b) Bulbul-i-Bagh-i-Muhammad is poetry and (c) Aqaid-i-Azim in Prose are included in this collection.

3. The **third School** is of writers in the **Panjab**. Long before the advent of the East India Company there existed a group of writers in Urdu in the Panjab like other Provinces in India. I have only been able to trace it back to the time of Farrukh Siyar but the movement must date from still an earlier period. The following are a few samples of this School, beginning with the oldest Mathnawi poem:

a. Mathnawi Gulzar-i-Faqr by Ghulam Mohiy-ud-Din of Mirpur dated 1131 H. There are two copies of this work in the collection namely Nos. 1415 and 1427.

b. No. 1504 Ramz-ul-Ishq, a mathnawi in Mysticism by Ghulam Qadir Shah of Batala, written before 1151 H. copied by Jan Muhammad. No. date.

c. No. 1217 Ganj-i-Shahidan by Ghauth of Batala, a huge Mathnawi poem on the martyrdom of Imam Husain and his companions.

d. No. 599 the story of Malik Zadah by Ghauth of Batala, in Panjabi metre.

e. No. 1351 the romance of Saif-ul-Muluk and Badi-ul-Jamal by an anonymous writer of Batala, dated 1260 H.

f. No. 1118 Sirr-i-Maknun by Faqir-ullah composed in 1204.

g. No. 1367 some Khamsas by Jan Muhammad in the author's own hand.

h. No. 1337 Chaman Sair or Qissa-i-Murgh-i-Zarrin by Ahmad of Sarhind, compiled in 1230 H.

i. Bayaz of Tahsin, consisting of his Urdu and Panjabi verses, in poet's own hand-writing dated 1226 H.

j. No. 1382 Hatim Nama in Urdu and Panjabi dialects by Khalifa `Arif' of Qasur, compiled in 1238 H., incomplete.

k. No. 583 Risala of Rahmat Shah on the romance of Shirin and Farhad. No date.

a. Gulistan-i-Rahmat by Shaikh Bajan (d. 912 H.), an incomplete copy of a very rare work which contains specimens of Bajan's verses.

b. A modern copy of Diwan of Shaikh Mahmud Daryai of Birpur (d. 920 H.) from the only known copy of this book.

c. A modern copy of Khwandkarni's Dream book, who lived in the days of Bahadur shah (1526-36 C.).

d. Jawahir-i-Asrar Ullah, the Diwan of Shah Alijiv Gamdhani (d. 973 H.) in the Gujri dialect.

e. Khub Muhammad Chishti's Khub Tarang with Amwaji Khubi, its Persian Commentary. The author died in 1023 H.

f. Mathnawi of Yusuf wa Zulaikha,[80] completed in 1109 H. by Amin in Gujri dialect.

2. **Another School** is of **Hariyana** Known as Bangru, Bangri or Jattu, a dialect prevailing in Jhajjar, Rohtak, Hansi, etc. This school is working form the days of Aurangzeb Alamgir. The following represent this school:

a. Fiqh-i-Hindi[81] by Shaikh Abdullah Ansari, composed in 1074 H. Several copies of this work belong to this collection.

b. Terah Masa by Akram Rohtaki with pen-name Qutbi, compiled in 1143 H.

c. Shaikh Mahbub Alam of Jhajjar is author of Mahshar Nama,[82] Masa'il-i-Hindi,[83] Nur nama[84] and Dard Nama-i-Muhammad. The first three are included in this collection.

d. Shah Abdul Hakim's two works khwab Nama[85] and Dehez Nama[86] are also included. The Shah died in 1187 H.

e. Shah Ghulam Jilani of Rohtak, the author of Chopais.

f. Ghulam Husain Ghishti of Mahim; living at the court of Nawwabs of Jhaj,jar, is the author of "Dabar Dooh" a Ragmala book containing 1044 rags. The author has introduced his pen-name Mahimin at the end of each rag with the exception of a few in which Husain is inserted. The present (No. 2248) is a contemporary copy, being dated 1844 C., belonging to Mr. Robert Cust, an Official of the Company.

2. No. 1151 Risala dar Bayan-i-Tir Andakhtan, a treatise on shooting arrows, copied by Qadir Bakhsh b. Miyan Fath-i-Muhd. in the city of `Azimabad, dated 1121 H.
3. No. 1176 Risala dar Qawaid wa Adab Tir Andazi by Muttaqi b. Mir Hadi alias Mr. Jawad Ali Khan, composed at the request of Mirza Mughal, Hyder Ali Khan Khwwas Mansabdar-i-Shahi. Not dated.
4. No. 1186 Nikat-ur-Rami by Mir Nasir completed in the year 1140 H. in the reign of Muhammad Shah.
5. No. 1205 Risala dar Fann-i-Tir Andazi, a treatise on the art of arrow-shooting, bearing the signature of Miyan jiv Imam Bakhsh b. Hafiz Muhammad Faid, resident of Thanesar, dated 1253 H.
6. No. 1207 Risala-i-Tir Andazi, a treatise on arrow-shooting, dated 1159 H., copied from the treatise of Shaikh Jan Muhammad of Wazirabad.
7. No. 1591 Hidayat-ur-Rami, instruction on arrow-shooting by Muhammad Budh alias Syed Mir `Alawi, dedicated to Alauddin Husain Shah of Jaunpur (863-881, d. 905 H.) copied in the sixth regnal year of Ahmad Shah, 1166 H.
8. No. 1624 an anonymous treatise on Archery by an Officer of Shah Jahan's court. Has an interesting information on Indian and foreign bows.
9. No. 1948 (3) Risala Tir Wa Kaman, an anonymous treatise on bows and arrows. No date.

Urdu Section:

I do not propose to write a separate note on my Urdu collection which is not very strong; but it is intersting from the point of view of different Schools of Urdu writers prevailing in different parts of India. Of these I have been able to discover three:-

1. **Gujri School,** as distinct from the Dakani, which is perhaps the earliest of all Urdu Schools, flourishing in Gujrat Province since the the X century H. (XVI C.). is represented by the following:-

2. No. 1313 Mathnawi Saidiya by Seba in Urdu verse.
3. No. 1218 Jawarih Nama Imamiya by Ilạh Dad and Yar Mohd. Faqir Dad, composed in 1293 H.
4. No. 1219 Baz Nama, defective at the ends.
5. No. 1384 Mukhtasar dar Tayyari-i-Janwaran, a compendium for training the birds of prey, with three other similar treatises one of which is in verse.
6. No. 1825 Risala dar Fann-i-Mir Shikari, a treatise on the art of Mir-Shikari by Mir Abdullah al-Husaini b. Mir Parsa', dedicated to Emperor Muhammad Shah. (2) Talim-us-said.[76] (3) An anonymous treatise on Falconry compiled in 1098 H.[77] (4) Tariq-i-Tayyari Janwaran by Qurban Ali.[78] (5) Tatimma, appendix on initiating the training of birds. (6) Baz Nama, 1260 H.[79] etc.
7. No. 1861 Baz Nama, incomplete.
8. No. 1910 Talim-us-Said viz. Baz Nama by Mir Muhd. Amin b. Mir Parsa' b. Mir kamal, composed in the reign of Muhammad Shah.
9. No. 1918 Dastur-us-Said by Muhammad Raza b. khawaja Yusuf, compiled in 1083 H. in the reign of Alamgir, damaged. (2) Baz Nama, written at the command of Sahibzada Muhammad khan, Shamshir Jang. (3) Mukhtasar Baz Nama.
10. No. 1985 Mukhtasar Qawaid dar Tayyari-i-Janwaran-i-Gulab-Chashm wa Siah Chashm. A compendium on the training of rose-eyed and black-eyed birds, copied by Jahandar Shah in 1277 H.
11. No. 1986 Baz Nama by khwaja Muhammad Sadiq b. khwaja Muhd. Yusuf, copied by Behari Lal, 1263 H.
12. No. 1908 Baz Nama in Urdu. (2) Baz Nama-i-Nausherwani, copied by Syed Abdur Rahman, 1298 H.

Archery:

1. No. 471 Risalai Pur Hunar dar Tir Andazi, a Skilful treatise on Archery, composed in the reign of Shah alam Ghazi. No date.

Precious Stones:

1. No. 1656 Jawahir Nama by Abu Bakr jeweller of Nishapur, who lived at the courts of Ghorics and Khwarizmis, is the most comprehensive and accurate work ever written in Persian on precious stones. There is no other copy known of this work.
2. No. 1562 Jawahir Nama with some pictures in the Indian style of Jahangir's period. The work appears to be an old compilation and is dedicated to a Princess entitled Ismat-ud Din, Ulugh-i-'Azam, Shahzadi-i-Jahan, her name being suppressed.

The Art of Farriery:

1. No. 772 the art of Farriery by Nizam ibn-i (Husain) Sauji, composed in 1033 H., and copied in 1241 H.
2. No. 920 A Faras Nama.
3. No. 1387 a work on Farriery translated from Sanskrit by Syed Abdullah Khan at the instance of Shah Jahan Badshah. Another copy in No. 1219, defective at the end.
4. No. 1443 is by Hamid s/o Alam, defective at the end.
5. No. 1446 is in rough Urdu in Panjabi style.
6. No. 1857 is a work tranlated into Persian from the original Hindi by Zain-ul-'Alamin b. Syed Abul Hasan Karbalai known as Hashimi in the year 926 H. at the command of Muzaffar Shah, the Ruler of Gujrat (917-932 H).
7. No. 286 a treatise on the instruction of horses by Nizam b. Husain Sauji composed in the year 1030 H. for 'Abbas Safwi. Copyist Danyal, dated 1051 H.
8. No. 306 Mujarribut-i-Sajjan Khani ya'ni Salatar Sajjan khani by Sajjan khan b. Nannhe khan resident of Hayatnagar now at Sironj, copied by Abdul Malik, dated 1291 H.

Hunting and Falconry :

1. No. 1121 Risala-i-Saidya, a treatise on hunting explaining the rules of hunting compiled for Badi'-uz-Zaman Bahadur khan, copied by Muhd. Azam b. Pir Muhammad in 1115 H.

17. No. 1342 Nisab-i-Mustafa, compiled 1126 H. in the reign of Farrukh Siyar Badshah.
18. No. 982 Nisab Nasibul Fudala, an old compilation.

There are several copies of Khaliqbari attributed to Amir Khusrau, but there is none prior to the XII century of Hijra (XVIII C.) One is dated 1135 H., the other is copied in the Punjab in 1178 H. Another is copied by the famous Hafiz Ahsan Ullah of Lahore himself, a writer of some fine Nisabs in Urdu as well as Persian. Undated copies of Khaliqbari are several and there is enough provision for the recovery of the original text of the book. The largest Nisab is in Persian consisting of nearly seventeen thousand verses composed by the above mentioned Hafiz of Lahore. The present copy is a rough draft of the author.

Music:

1. No. 856 Tuhfat-ul-Hind by Mirza Khan b. Fakhruddin Muhd.
2. No. 1461 another copy of the same work, incomplete.
3. No. 947 Usual-un-Naghmat, the principles of Music by Sabir Shah, dated 1212 H.
4. No. 1520 Tashrih-ul'-Musiqi, an exposition of Music, translation of Mir. Tansen's treatise called Budh Parkash, by Muhammad Akbar, alias Arzani, the famous Physician and Writer of Alamgir's reign.

Gardening and Cultivation of Plants:

1. No. 370 Intikhab Risala-i-Ashjar Bardar wa Guldar, a compendium of a treatise on Fruit and Flower trees by Abdul Ghani b. Shah Mubarak Ashraf Baihawí then Kachhucchwi, written for Raja Khan Bahadur (d. 1258 H).
2. No. 1362 Risala fil Falahat, a treatise on the cultivation of plants by Mulla Abdul ali Birjandi, copied in 1259 H.
3. No. 1392 Risala dar Falahat wa Baghbani, a treatise on Horticulture and gardening, defective in the beginning.
4. No. 1612 Risala dar Darakht Kashtan, an anonymous treatise on cultivation of plants etc., written in XI century H. (XVII C).

1. No. 1064 Nisab by Fadl-ullah b. Muhd. b. Aman Ullah b. Qadi (Sadar-i) Jahan, compiled 940 H. named Fahm-i-Sibyan.
2. No. 982 Nisabi Maqlub by Insha-Allah Khan Insha. (2) Mantiq-us-Sibyan. (3) Nasib-ul-Ikhwan by Mutahhir Sha'ir of Kara, compiled in 778 H. in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq and (4) Nisab Kamal-ud-Din.
3. No. 986 Wuduh-un-Nisaban by Shaikham b. Maulana Kalan b. Makhdum-us-Sibyan Shaikh Ahmed, written 1261 H.
4. No. 992 Nisabi Asma-i-Husna, compiled 896 H.
5. No. 989 Raziqbari by Mustafa, compiled 1085 H.
6. No. 995 Ezadbari by Kharmal s/o Sain Das of Sunnam, Contemporary copy, compiled 1105 H.
7. No. 1002 Dhauq-us-Sibyan by Hafiz Ahsan Ullah Lahore, in the author's hand.
8. No. 1003 (2) Farh-i-Sibyan by Maulwi Ishaq, (3) Farh-i-Sibyan by Shaikh Ishaq written in 2 Julus Ahmed Shah Bahadur. (4) Nasab-i-Sibyan by Maulwi Ishaq, written for Abdur-Razzaq in 1057 H. in the reign of Shah Jahan Badshah.
9. No. 1004 Wahid Nama by Maulwi Asghar Ali of Tonk.
10. No. 1005 Nasirbari by Mufti Shams-ud-Din.
11. No. 1010 Qadirbari by Muzaffar, compiled 1103 H., written 1253 H.
12. No. 1011 Raziqbari by Walah. (3) Sani'bari by Taj Muhd. of Bhatinda.
13. No. 1012 Da'imbari.
14. No. 1102 (2) Wasi'bari by Yakdil.
15. No. 1113 Quran Mushaf. (5) Risala Mir 'Ab.
16. No. 1111 Asma'-i-Ahraf, compiled 815 H. (3) Sham'-i-Anjuman ya'ni Nisab-i-Hasan by Hasan Ali s/o Muhd. Ismail Khan No. 985 Allahbari by Ummid, compiled 1198 H.

It is of importance and holds rank next to al-Mu'jem of Shams-i-Qais and Mi'yar-ul-Asha'ar of Tusi.

6. No. 2030 Miftah-ul-Arud by Muhd. Amin Amini of Bhakkar (d.1075 H.) copied 1128 H.
7. No. 2035 Misbah-ul-Fuyud fi Ilm-ul Qafiya wa'l Arud, by Abul Abbas Hussain b. Ali Jafari, written for Wajid Ali Shah.
8. No. 2036 Arud Zadah Manzum, translation of Risala-i-Turki of Babar Badshah, by Adfari in 1198 H., incomplete.
9. No. 2037 Arud Zadah by Muhd. Zahir-ud-Din b. Mirza Ali Bakht alias Mirza Kalan, pen-name Adfari.
10. No. 2041 Risala-i-Arud by Qasim Kahi, written 1099 H.
11. No. 2042 A collection of miscellaneous tracts on Prosody and Rhyme etc. particularly by Jami and Saifi belonging to the early X century H. There is a later entry by some one on the margin under the date 959 H.
12. No. 1620 Raisala-i-Jam'a-i-Mukhtasar of Wahid Tabrezi is in a female hand, the name of the copyist being Habiba bint Muhammad Qasim Muhaddith.
13. No. 1638 Miqyas-ul-Ash'ar is an autograph copy of the author Mirza Muhammad Jafar Auj of Lucknow.

Nisab (Text) Book for Boys in Persian, Urdu and Panjabi

This is a sub-division of Lexicography. Sixty five numbers of the present list contain 105 works on Nisab for boys. The early Nisabs were written in Prose, a specimen of which can be seen in an undated copy of the X century called Mantiq by an anonymous author, dedicated to Sultan Shah Abul'l Qasim Mahmud Khwarizm Shah crowned in 565 H. Since the appearance of Abu Nasr Farabi's famous Nisab compiled in 617 H. versified Nisabs came in vogue and prose Nisabs were abandoned. The present is perhaps the largest collection of these works. The list give below mentions only some uncommon and

27. No. 1582 Mathnaw-i-Nuh Sipehr-i-khusrau, written by Sulaiman Musawi of Delhi.
28. No. 1583 Diwani-Hafiz, written 1026 H. large size.
29. No. 1584 Diwan Hafiz, small size, incomplete.
30. No. 1542 Tuhfat-ul-`Ushshaq by Ghazali Maṣhhadi.
31. No. 1606 Mathnaw-i-Ishq-i-Jahangir wa Nur Jahan. Contemporary copy, incomplete.
32. No. 1618 Diwan-i-Payam for Mir Karam Ali Talpar, scribe Ismail, 1208 H.
33. No. 1621 Rubaiyat-i-Bedil, transcribed from the author's copy, written 4 J. Muhammad Shahi.
34. No. 1625 (2) Mathnawi Ramz-ul-'Ishq by Hadhrat Ghulam Qadir Shah, written 1204 H.
35. No. 1630 Diwan Murshid, centemporary copy, incomplete.
36. No. 1635 Diwan-i-Nasikh, with illuminated front.
37. No. 1640 Qiran-us-Sa'dain, written 983 H.
38. No. 1650 Diwan-i-Hafiz in the hand of Sidi Murad b. Sultan Mahmud at-Tabasi, 978 H.
39. No. 1659 Diwan Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil.

Prosody and Rhyme:

In Prosody the collection is strong again. The total No. of books is 46 ranging between Nos. 2012-2045. There are several works which are rare and are otherwise interesting.

1. No. 2013 Risala-i-Arud wa Qawafi, compiled by Ruh-ul-Amin, written 1201 H.
2. No. 2017 Tashil-ul-Arud ila ilm-ul-Arud.
3. No. 2021 Risala-i-Arud by Muhd. Wasil.
4. No. 2022 Riad-us- Sanai Qutb Shahi by Ulfati Husaini Sa'waji.
5. No. 2023 Tanqid-ud-Durur, compiled by Payinda Muhd. b. Muhd. b. Shaikh Muhd., pen-name Qada'i written 999 H., copied 1006 H. The book is dedicated to Abdullah Khan Uzbak, ruler of Turan and contemporary of Akbar the Great.

5. No. 2051 Baran Anwa' by Mian Abdullah s/o Jan Muhd. Al-Lahori.
6. No. 82 diwan Salik Qazwini, a contemporary copy.
7. No. 416 Saqi Nama Miraza Bedil, contemporary copy. (incomplete)
8. No. 454 Kulliyat-i-khakani, dated 1033 H.
9. No. 515 Mathnawi Mirat-ul Maani by Jamali, 1193 H.
10. No. 519 Diwani Saqqa, end of X century H.
11. No. 953 Kulliyat-i-'Attar.
12. No. 1251 Diwan Shah Raju Qattal, pen-name Raja, 2 J. (Shahjahan).
13. No. 1464 Diwan Dilshad, incomplete.
14. No. 1523 Diwan Tarzi Afshar, in the hand of Muhd. Masu'd of Ahmedabad, 1115 H.
15. No. 1533 Makhzani Asrar-i-Nizami, contemporary copy, incomplete.
16. No. 1534 Diwani 'Iraqi.
17. No. 1535 Kulliyat-i-Sa'di XI century. Incomplete, Has an autograph of Inayat Khan Ashna, under 1059 H.
18. No. 1534 Jauhar-uz-Zat, end of the VIII century H.
19. No. 1555 Kulliyat-i-Anwari, 842 H.
20. No. 1556, Shahnama-i-Firdausi ba Dibacha-i-Qadim, middle of the IX century H.
21. No. 1559 Yusuf Zulaikha-i-Jami, written 998 H. in Lahore.
22. No. 1560 Sam Nama, with Ghazliyat from the various poets, and paintings from the Kashmir School, XI century H.
23. No. 1561 Laila Majnun, painted, by Hatifi and illuminated, 1127 H.
24. No. 1577 Diwan-i-Salai, written 1017 H. in the hand of Abdur Rahim s/o Syed Najm-ud-Din.
25. No. 1579 Qasaid-i-Usman Mukhtari, end of X century H.
26. No. 1580 Diwani-Saif Isfarang in the hand of Allah Ditta, illuminated, X century H.

9. No. 1032 Khairul Fadhail a commentary on Shamil-un-Nabi by Mulla Abu'l wafa Mufti at the request of Afrasiab Beg khan copied by Muhammad Sultan, dated 1159 H.
10. No. 1045 Sharh-i-Sikandar Nama by Shah Khaki, copied by Nizam-ud-Din b. Muhd. Murad, 1204 H.
11. No. 1169 Miftah-ul-Makhzan a commentary on Makhzan-i-Asrar by Muhammad Habib Ullah b. Abdul Ḥafiz Hashimi.
12. No. 1298 a commentary on Anwari's Qasidas by Muhd. B. Daud of Shahdiabad, 1202 H., copyist Sh. Ghulam Husain b. Sh. Lal Muhammad of Narnaul.
13. No. 1421 Sharh-i-Sikandar Nama by Muhammad Nasir b. Sultan Sufyani, copied by Faqir Ullah in 1135 H.
14. No. 1514 Sharh-i-Diwan-i-Anwari by Abul Hasan Farahani copied by the author's nephew Sh. Sharaf-ud-Din in 1099 H.
15. No. 1424 a commentary on Khaqani's work by Mirak Abdul Wahhab Mamuri, copied by Mir Hasan Husaini b. Syed Muhd. Hussain 1104 H.
16. No. 1938 a commentary on Tuhfat-ul-Iraqain by Abdul Ghani of Bhakkar, copyist Mahmud, 1146 H.
17. No. 1988 a commentary on Hadiqa of Sanai, dated 1098, copied by Muhammad Arshad Ullah b. Hidayat Ullah.
18. No. 1518 a commentary on Hidyatul Hikma, copied in 808 H.
19. No. 1998 another copy of the same, copied by Zahir b. Ali b. Abi Ishaq al-Fali at Tabas, 884 H.

Poetry:

In Poetry of the following may prove of insterest:-

1. No. 1783 Diwan Qizılbash Khan `Ummid'.
2. No. 1812 Diwan Hasan. Incomplete.
3. No. 1840 Diwan Samit, bearing the seal and autograph of Dilshad, the poet.
4. No. 2004 Diwan Hasan Sijzi, X century H.

13. No. 1196 Ruqqaat-i-Hakim Abul Fath Gilani, letters of Hakim Abul Fath of Gilan, dated 2 regnal year of Furrukh Siyar, copyist Dya Nath.
14. No. 1329 Inayat Nama, a collection of 153 letters, by Inayat Khan Rasikh b. Lutf-Ullah Khan Sadiq, in 1163 H. Probably contemporary copy.
15. No. 1401 Insha-i-Harkaran, copied by Gul Begam, dated 1258 H.
16. No. 1462 Fara'id-i-Ghiyathi Majmua-i-Tarassalati Qadim wa Jadid, collected in the reign of Shah Rukh Mirza, dedicated to Ghiyath-ud-din Pir Ahmed.
17. No. 1622 Insha-i-Abdullah Marwarid, copied in the IX or in the beginning of the X century H.

Notes and Commentaries:

1. No. 108 Sharh Nal Daman, a commentary on Faizi's Nal Daman by Abul Faidh Muhd. Malahat.
2. No. 131 A commentary on Jami's Yusuf wa Zulaikha by Raza, completed in the year 1197 H., copied in 1276 H.
3. No. 161 Mafatih-ul-I'jaz fi Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-Raz, by Muhd b. Yahya b. Ali Al-Jilani Allahji an-Nurbakhshi, copied in 915 H.
4. No. 283 another copy of the same work belonging to the late X Cetury H.
5. No. 740 a commentary on the Diwan of Jalal Asir by Mahtab Rai, dated 1145 H.
6. No. 781 a commentary on Yusuf Zulaikha by Hakim Muhd. Sajid of Jhinjhana, edited by Muhammad Shah.
7. No. 827 a commentary on Nuzhat-ul-Arwah, by Baha-ud-Din Budh at the request of Makhdum jahaniyan copied 1003 H.
8. No. 892 Sharh-i-Makatibat-i-Allami a commentary on Abul `Fazal's famous epistles by Abul Faidh Muhd. Malahat, 1264 H. Wormeaten.

17. No. 1677 Salat-i-Mas'udi, transcribed in 860 in Indian Nasta'liq.
18. No. 1811 Shawahid-un-Nubuwwat by Jami, belonging to Dara Shukoh's Library.
19. No. 1955 Ma'din-ul-Asrar by Faiz-Ullah b Zain-ul-'Abidin b. Hasan of Multan, entitled Malik-ul-Qudhdhat Sadr-i-Jahan. An abridgement of two treatises of Imam Ghazzali.
20. No. 1673 Risala-i-Hasaniyya, translated by Ibrahim b. Wali-Ullah Astarabadi, known as Gurgin, copied Muhd. Mu'min b. Mir Muhd. Muqim Husaini in 1119 H. by order of Janab 'Ulya Sahiba-i-Dauran Degam Sahiba.

Collection of Letters:

1. No. 168 Ruqqa'at-i-'Alamgir Badshah Ghazi, letters of, dated 1111 H.
2. No. 170 Dastur-ul-'Amal-i-A'gahi, collected by Raja Aya Mal copied in 1185 H.
3. No. 173 Mansha'at-i-Balkrishn Hisari, XII century H.
4. No. 231 Insha'-i-Mu'in Az-Zamchi al-Asfazari, al-Harwi, X cent. H.
5. No. 366 Letters addressed to Faqir Aziz-ud-Din Muhd. Raza and their replies, vol. IX only, dated 1257 H.
6. No. 559 Adab-ul-Mutarassilin by Abdul Jalil b. Abdur Rahman copied in 1098 H.
7. No. 681 Ruqqaat-i-Bedil, letters of Bedil (d. 1133 H.), dated 1128 H., the 4th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar, a contemporary copy.
8. No. 1451 another copy of Ruqqaat-i-Bedil, dated 1146 H.
9. No. 746 Wajiz-ul-'Insha' by Lachche Ram, Sammat 1906.
10. No. 833 'Umdat-ul-Manshaat by Ibn-i-Nasir-ul-Haq Muhd. Al-Hussaini, an-Nur Bakhshi.
11. No. 1168 Ruqqaat-i-Munir, collected by Lal, copied in Sammat 1902.
12. No. 1187 Dasturul 'Amal Jawahir Mal of Sahaswan, a Munshi of Sher Afgan Khan.

3. No. 636 Risala dar Bayan-i-Haftad-o-Do Millat, translated into Persian by Abdullah from the original treatise of Imam-i-`Azam called Marifat-ul-Mazahib.
4. No. 658 a refutation of Mir Murad's treatise called Sanabil.
5. No. 755 a theological tract by Ahmed b. Abil Qasim, entitled `Nasir' and known as Imam-ul-Mulk composed in 773 at Daulatabad. Not dated.
6. No. 835 Anis-ut-Talibin, collated at Agra in 977 H.
7. No. 853 Manafi-ul-Muslimin, by Abdul Jalil, copied 1073. H.
8. No. 858 Marifat-ul-Madahib by Muhd. b. Tahir Ghazzali.
9. No. 862 Kanz-ud-daqaiq, copied in 1184 by Muhd. Ali of Ibrahimabad Sodhra.
10. No. 1047 Risala Dalail-un-Nayyirah fi-Radd-i-Madahib-il Muhayyarah by Faqir-Ullah b. Abdur Rahman al-Hanafi ar-Ratasi, al-Jalalbadi ash-Shikarpuri, addressed to Mullah Rahim Dad, 1248 H. Copyist Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad.
11. No. 1199 Radd-i-Aqida-i-Fasida-i-Maulwi Sami' Sufi, translated by Rafi-ud-Din Lari, 1234 H.
12. No. 1217 Risala-i-Mubahithah-i-Shi'a wa Sunni ba Tarz-i-Maqamat-i-Hamidi. A controversy between Shia and Sunni written by Abdul Karim siddiqi Hanafi in imitation of Maqamat-i-Hamidi.
13. No. 1528 Book composed by Abu Ishaq b. Abi Tahir Qawam-ud-Din Halwagar of Sanjan, a pupil of `Imad with an account of various religious orders and mystical topics. At the end of the book the author describes the dreams he dreamt between the years 776 and 778 H.
14. No. 1529 Bahr-ul-Fawa'id, composed in Persian in Syria and dedicated to Imad-ud-Din Atabak Abi Sa'id Arsalan Aba b. Aqsunqur.
15. No. 1526 Fatawa-i-Qazi Khan, compiled from the author's copy IX century H.
16. No. 1662 Al-`Inạyah fi Sharh-i-Hidayah. IX century H.

19. No. 613 Majmaul Bahrain copied by Mubarik b. Nimat b. Hussain Khan of Thanesar, 1005 H.
20. No. 628 Maktubat Sh. Abduul Quddus Gangohi, collected by Shaikh Budhan b. Rukn of Jaunpur.
21. No. 669 Miftah-ut-Tasawwuf by Sher 'Ali b. Muhd. Qasim.
22. No. 919 Risa 'il-i-Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, dated 1067 H.
23. No. 1056 Ganj-ut-Talibin, composed by Maulana Syed Muhd; in 996 H., copied by Jalal-ud-Din b. Mir Muhammad of Samarqand in 1006 H.
24. No. 1156 Risala-i-`Ubaid-Ullah Ahrar.
25. No. 1157 Risala-i-khwaja Parsa.
26. No. 1193 a collection of nine treatises of Sh. Muhi-ud-Din ibn-i-`Arabi.
27. No. 1249 a collection of Sufic tracts.
28. No 1352 Anis-ul-Ashiqin by Zia of Nakhshab, copied 1143 H.
29. No. 1428 a collection of Sufic tracts. No date.
30. No. 1431 Rushd Nama by Sh. Abdul Quddus of Gangoh.
31. No. 1622 a collection of 13 sufic tracts. d. 848 H.
32. No. 1661 Futuhat-i-Makkiya, Vol. 1. Only (884 H.)
33. No. 1846 Risala-i-Zaman-o-Makan. By Sh-Muhd., dated 1265 H.
34. No. 1893 kitab `Urus-i-`Irfan by Shah Mahmood. Bahri, known as Gazi-i-Darya, compiled in 1117 H.
35. No. 1961 Maktubat-i-Hadhrat Shah Mujtaba Qalandar Alias Shah Mujja Laharpuri, collected by Turab Ali b. Shah Muhd. Kazim Qalandar.

Religious Theological and Controversial Literature:

1. No. 335 Taudhih-us-Sunnah fi Tafdhi-ul-Bid'ah by Imam Muhd. Siddiq, a reply to Mulla Hashim of Sindh.
2. No. 407 Khulasat-ul-Maarif wa Asrar-ul-`Aqaid by Syed Adam al-Hanafi.

1. No. 155 Hidayat-ut-Talibin by Syed Shah Abu Sa'ıd of Kalpi.
2. No. 186 Risala Asrar-i-Khalwat, a Persıan translatıon of Ibn Al-`Arabi's tract.
3. No. 196 Anis-ul-`Ashiqin by Ghausi, a pupil of Sh. Muhd. Arampuri, dated 1183 H.
4. No. 197 Sawa'-us-Sabil by Sh. Kalim-Ullah, copıed from author's copy by Muhammad Ashraf in 1134 H.
5. No. 222 Burhan-ul-`Arifin by Abul Hasan of Kharqan, 22 regnal year of Muhammad Shah.
6. No. 227 Riaz-uz-Zakirin by Maulana Kalan, copıed by Muhd. Ibrahim.
7. No. 226 (3) Sharh Lawa'ih, a commentary on Jami's Lawa'ıh, copied by Mır. Hashim b. Haji Mir Husain, dated 1005 H.
8. No. 281 Gulshan-i-Ishq, compiled by Shah Muhtaram Ullah.
9. No. 302 Mathnawi Guldasta-ı-Halat by Shah Muhammad Yunus.
10. No. 305 Mirsad-ul-`Ibad by Abu Bakr b. Abdullah.
11. No. 378 Malfuzat Ganj-ul- Asrar by Khwaja Muın-ud-Din Sijzi, copied by Jalal Sharaf-uddın al-Qarbati in 980.
12. No. 395 Silk-us Suluk by Zia-i Nakhshabi, copied in 1039 H.
13. No. 456 Nur-ul-Hidayat by Sultan Bahu, Fana filhu.
14. No. 472 al-Janib-ul-Gharabi fi Hall-i-Mushkilatish Shaıkh Muhi-ud-Din Ibn Al-`Arabi.
15. No. 492 Risala Wujud-i-Mutlaq by Ibn-i-Syed Abdullah Rukn-ud-Din b-Syed Abdullah, compiled in 1144 H.
16. Ganj-i-`Irfan by Imam-ud-Din Husainı, known as Mır Mas i. With pen-name `Arif;
17. No. 580 Risalai Makhzan-us Salikin by Abıd Shah Husaını.
18. No. 604 Kashf-ul-Mahjub, copied by Abdul Hakım b. Abdul Wahhab in 994 H.

2. No. 384 Jami-ul-Maqamat, an account of Maulana khojgi Ahmad b.' Syed Jalal-ud-Din by Abul Baqa b. Khwaja Baha-ud-Din b. Hadhrat Makhdum-i-Azam, written 1026 H.
3. No. 388 Zawahir dar Ahwal Wa Ma'qulat Hadhrat Shaikh as Sa'di al-Lahori by Muhd. 'Umar b. Ibrahim al-Peshawari, compiled 7 Julusi Muhammed Shahi or 1113 H.
4. No. 951 Asrar-ul-Abrar by Da'ud Mishkati b. Mas'ud b. Firoz Ghauri, then Kashmiri, dar Maqamat Makhdum Shaikh Hamza, 1165 H.
5. No. 1137 Thamrat-ul-Fuwad by Lutf-ullah of Ambala, dar Halat Shah Abul Ma'ali wa Syed Shah Bhikh.
6. No. 1160 Tuhfat-ut-Tahirin by Muhammad `Azam b. Shaikh Muhammad Shafi, compiled 1194 H., a chronicle of Saints who are resting in Kuh Makli and the city of Thattha.
7. No. 1211 Thamrat-ul-Hayat ya'ni Malfuz-i-Hadhrat-i-Shaikh Burhan by Abd-ul karim al-khafi, alias `Aqil khan, written 5 Muhd. Shahi or 1140 H.
8. No. 1293 Hilyat-ul `Arifin by Maulana Ishaq Kashmiri' alias al-Qari dar Halati Shaikh Hazmza Kashmiri.
9. No. 1459 Akhbar-ul-Akhyar by Sh. Abdul Haq of Delhi, with additional notes and glosses.
10. Tarikh-i-Ahmadi,[74] an account of Sh. Ahmed Shahid of Bareilly, as narrated by his several companions. This is a big volume but unfortunately several folios in the middle are damaged by white ants.
11. No. 1934 Tadkira Miftah-ul-`Arifin by Abdul Fattah b. Muhammad Numan, compiled 1301 H.
12. No. 1952 Risala dar Halati Muhammad Nasir uddin, successor to Syed Ahmed Shahid in the province of Sindh or Suhana by Abu Alı b. Ahmed Mir. The book, owing to the author's death was not completed. Probably this is the author's copy.
13. The memoir of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk,[75] the Ruler of Afghanistan, compiled by himself.

Mysticism:

author. It has certain amendations made by the author himself.

9. No. 1657 Rauzat-us-Safa'. Dated 980 H.
10. No. 1996 Majalis-ul-Mu'minin Nurullah al-Mar'ashi al-Shustari, dated 1054 and copied form author's autograph, dated Lahore 1010 H. The last two works are superior copies from the poinf of view of calligraphy and art.
11. No. 596-97 Saulat-i-Faruqi by Ashub of Turan, is a compilation not generally known. A mention of it in Haft Aasman by Agha Ahmad Ali was based upon the introductory portion of the printed coply containing a satire against Firdausi, otherwise the book is very little known. In size and bulk it is larger than Shahnama.
12. No. 1609 Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana by Ahmad Yadgar. Two years ago when the R. A. S. Bengal undertook to publish this book, this copy was borrowed by them. The Editor Dr. Hidayat Hussain received it at the time when 48 pages were already printed. The result of his collation with this copy of the 48 pages occupy full 38 pages namely from p. 371 to p. 408. This is what he says about it:- "On examination I found it to be a very good and reliable copy. It does not end abruptly, as, the two Calcutta copies do" p. IX.

    Else where he says:- "wa Ein Nuskhah Baghayat Sahih-o-Mazboot Ast." P. 371 Tarikh-i-Shahi, Taba' Society.

BIOGRAPHIES

There are about fifty works on the biographies of saints etc., of which the following may be considered as rare:

1. Chishtiya Bahishtiya[73] by Shaikh Ala-ud-Din Thani Barnawi. A detailed history of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din of Barnawa. d. 1030 H. and his predecessors, probably in the author's own hand as every other leaf bears a record of author's daily progress with his work with dates 1065 and 1066 H.

9. Bayaz copied by Partab singh b, Hukumat Rai,[66] dated 9th Julus of Muhammad Shah.
10. Bayazi-i-Sialkoti Mal Warasta.[67]
11. Another Bayaz, Known, as[68] Namah'-i-Nigarin wa Sahifah'-i-Rangin containing prose specimens collected by Sialkoti Mal Warasta in 1236 H.
12. Bayaz under the names of Muhammad Shah wa Sardha Ram and Munshi Dina Nath of Peshawar,[69] dated 1178 H.

History:

This section is about 6 percent of the whole collection. Works not found in other well known collections are:

1. A short account of the history of Amir Timur,[70] in particular relating to his Indian Expedition composed by Ghiyath-ud-Din Ali a descendent of Shaikh Jamal-ul-Islam, copied by Ataullah b. Muhammad b. Nizam-ud-Din al-Husaini of Bokhara.
2. An anonymous work on general Hisotory,[71] from old Persian kings to about 950 H., called by a former owner as Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.
3. Mirat-ul-Madhahib,[72] a general history of the religious and philosophical creeds of the world, written in India about a century after the author, whose name could not be traced as the copy is defective. Probably it is the author's autograph copy.
4. No. 1854 Tarikh-i-Bhatnair, dated 1288 H.
5. No. 1632 Tarikh-i-Hashmat-i-Kashmir, by Abdul Qadir Khan, dated 1245 H.
6. No. 1637 Tarikh-i-Intikhab-i-Muntakhab, by Abdul Shakur, completed during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir.
7. No. 1513 Haqiqat-i-Ahwal-i-Farang, by Muhammad Ashraf Munshi, composed in 1182 and dated 1189. (Nos. 6 & 7 are considered to be rare books).
8. No. 952 Rauzat-ul-Ahbab by Mir Jamal-ud-Din Muhaddith, dated 935 H. is a copy which probably belonged to the

5. Mi'raj-ul khayal[54] by Wazir Ali of 'Azim-abad, dated 1257 H.
6. Muntakhabul Ash'ar[55] by Mardan Ali Khan composed in 1161 H. This copy is dated 1166 H.
7. Zabdat-ul-Mu'asirin[56] by Mir Hussain al-Ḥussaini, dated 1240 H.

Poetical Anthologies:

The collection contains about 60 anthologies of poets. The most important are-

1. Bayaz-i-Muhammad Qasim.[57] Besides the poetical selections it contains autographs of the various important personages of the period living in the first half of the 12th century (XVIII C.) of the Hijra, like Muhammad ali Raij of Sialkot, Shaikh Muhammad Mah, Mehta Nawal Rai, Lala Salabot singh, Diwan Jagat Singh and Rai Tek Chand.
2. Bayaz of Muhammad Amin Khan,[58] Bahadur, I'timad-ud-Daulah, the first Prime Minister of Muhammad Shah (1131-61 H.) Beside other useful information it preserves the autographs of noted men of the period like Musta'id Khan, the author of Alamgir-Nama, Iradat Khan Wazih, and Mirza Mu'iz Fitrat.
3. Two anthologies collected by Band-i Ali Khan. The larger one[59] is dated 1159 H. and the smaller one[60] is dated 1163 H. Both bear the autograph of the Nawab.
4. Anis-ul 'Ashiqin[61] of Ahmed Ali of Sandila, a voluminous anthology of poets.
5. Majma'-al Mazamin of Kokab,[62] contemporary with the author but incomplete.
6. Bayaz-I-Mahakkul Kamal[63] by Muhammad Muhsin of Thatta, dated 1175 H., dedicated to Shah Quli Khan, the ruler of Sindh.
7. Bayaz transcribed by Muhammad Hasan b. Muhammad Raza[64] by the order of Karam Ali Khan Talpar Bahadur, dated 1245 H.
8. Bayaz of Jai Mal Thar,[65] dated 1062-67 H.

10. Bostan of Sa'di[45] copied by 'Ali al-Husaini, dated 1010 H.
11. Large portion of an illuminated Quran,[46] transcribed by Muḥammad al-katib of Shiraz, dated 959 H.
12. Quran in Persian style of writing,[47] dated 835 H., coplied by Muhammad al-Haj Hasan al Hakim of Yazd.
13. Himail Sharif,[48] with first six folios illuminated, copied by Muhammad Muhsin of Sindh, dated 1130 H.
14. Lawaih Jami,[49] copied in kifayat khani style by Muhammad Sadiq Tabataba, known as Aziz Khan, dated 19th J. of Muhammad Shah.

Biographies of poets:

Under this secion there are 23 items, chief among these may be mentioned:

1. Haft Iqlim of Amin Ahmad Razi,[50] dated 1046 H. The R.A.S. Bengal has recently undertaken the publication of this work, and the copy in my possession was lent to them. The Editor Professor Mahfuz-ul-Haq holds a high opinion for it; he says: "This is found to be the best Ms. I had for collation."
2. Lataif-ul-khayal,[51] Vol. I. Only, by an anonymous author, composed in 1076 H. No other copy of this is known to me.
3. Gul-i-Ra'na[52] by Lachhmi Narain Safiq of Aurangabad: probably author's copy. After completing the work in 1182 H. the author enters on the margin the death notices, evidently in his own hand, of several poets discussed in the book and who died between 1182 and 1191 H.
4. Makhzan-ul-Gharabib[53] of Ahmad Ali of Sandila, believed to be written in 1218. This copy although completed in 1219 bears signs showing that it was not finally finished by that date. Accounts of several poets, particularly of those who were contemporaries of the author like Mir Taqi Mir, Insha-Allah Khan Insha' and others, are entered in the margin. Additions and erasions, probably in author's own hand, are also noticed.

Works of reputed Calligraphers:

This collection throws considerable light on the early history of Nasta'liq writing and its development during the last half of the VIII (xiv c.) Century H., when it emerges out of Ta'liq into a separate entity called Nasta'liq. In this connection the following works would be useful to be studied—

No. 1534 Diwan-i-`Iraqi (Qaran Hashtum)

No. 1535 Kulliyat-i-Shaikh Sa'di Shirazi.

No. 1536 Jauharuz zat `Attar (Awakhir Qaran Hashtum).

No. 1554 Kamil ut-Ta'bir/Ta'bir Namah Az Hakim Abul Fazl Habashi b. Ibrahim (Qaran Nahum)

No. 1555 Kulliyat-i-Anwari (845 Hijri).

No. 1556 Shah Namah'-i-Firdausi Ba Dibachah'-i-Qadim (850 Hijri).

The following works belonging to famous and reputed Calligraphists are worth noticing here:

1. A copy of Khamsa of Nizami,[35] copied by Maulana Azhar,[36]
2. Diwan-i-Hafiz[37] transcribed by Mahmud b. Hasan of Nishapur, a pupil of Sultan Ali of Mashhad, dated 894 H.
3. Tarikh-i-Amiri Buzurg Amir Timur[38] by Ghiyath-ud-Din 'Ali and copied by `Ata-Ullah b. Muhammad b. Nizam-uddin al-Hussaini al-Bukhari.
4. A portion of Akhlaq-i-Muhsani,[39] copied By Muhammad Salah b. Muhammad Ali al-katib al-khaqani.
5. Yusuf wa Zulaikha of Jami[40] copied by Mahmud b. Nizam of Herat, dated 944 H.
6. Tuhfat-ul-Ahrar of Jami[41] transcribed by khwawand Salih b. Mirak. The writer of above.
7. Diwan-i-Ahli Shirazi[42] copied by khwaja Salih b. Mirak.
8. Kalimat-i-Amir-ul-Mu'minin`Ali,[43] copied by Mu'jiz of Herat dated 1016 H.
9. Ikhtiyarat-i-Qutb Shahi,[44] transcribed by Majid-ud-Din Muhammad al-Husaini al-kashani, dated 1017 H.

9. "Ain-ul-Hayat"[18] by Muhammad Baqir b. Muhammad Taqi dated 1073.
10. "Mushafistan"[19] by Baksh-Ullah Bani Isra`il b. Aman-Ullah Khushnawis.
11. "Diwan Zaki"[20] of Muradabad, evidently author's copy.
12. "Miftah-ul-Afwah"[21] by Hafiz Ahsan Ullah Muhrkan of Lahore.
13. "Bakhshish Nama"[22] by Hafiz Ahsan-Ullah, a metrical work in Urdu composed in 1213 H.
14. "Manaqib Dabiriyyah"[23] by Abul Muhammad Safdar Hussain, bears signs of being auther's copy.
15. "Hans Jawahir Nama"[24] by Abdul Qadir Makhzan of Bahraich, dated 1204 H.
16. "Miqyas-ul-Ash'ar"[25] by Mirza Muhammad Ja'far Aud s/o Miraza Dabir.
17. "Kulliyat-i-Afridi"[26] in Urdu, Persian and Pashtu.
18. "Diwan-i-Munshi Har Gopal Tafta."[27]
19. "Majmu'a-i-Athar Mahshar"[28] by Syed Muhammad Ali of Tonk, dated 1152 H.
20. Diwan of Barkat-Ullah Khan Barkat[29] completed at chandosi, his estate.
21. "Kulliyat-i-Faiz"[30] (Nawab Sadr-ud-Din Khan Faiz) in two volumes copied in 1152 H. at author's request.
22. "Diwan of Muhammad Afzal Thabit"[31] collected by Nawab Bandi Ali Khan bearing his autograph, presented to Nithar Ali Khan and dated 1151 H.
23. "Daqiqat-ud-Daqaiq"[32] by Saif-ud Daulah b. Nizam-ud-Din, dated 1029 H.
24. Sawanih Umri Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan[33] (d. 1306 H.) by Mirza Salam-ud-Din Mantaji of Kashmir, dated 1306/1889 C.
25. "Tarikh-i-'Ajib"[34] by Maulvi Najaf Ali Khan of Jhajjar, the author of Dari Kusha etc., gives an account of English peoples wars in India.

Shahjahan's autograph as well, which is dated the first day of the Emperor's coronation.[6]

(3) A copy of "Ishq Nama" by Wajid, `Ali Shah, the ruler of Oudh composed in 1265, in author's own hand.[7]

(4) A copy of Shahinshah Nama-i Qasmi and Timar Nama-i Hatifi[8] presented to Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah by his chief Steward Masud Bek in[9] 1010, bears the seals of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Qutb Shah.

Authors' Autographs or copies belonging to them:

There are about 65 works, claimed to be in the author's own handwriting or copies belonging to them, of which some important ones are these:

1. "Majmu'-ul-Fatawa"[10] by Ahmed b. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Hanafi bears signs of an autograph copy.
2. "Turfat-ul-Fatawa"[11], a metrical work on Theology by Rukn-ud-Din, a divine who lived in the reign of Firoze Shah Tughlaq, 752-79 H.
3. A copy of `Sharh-I-Muwaqif,"[12] dated 807 H., dedicated to Pir Muhammad, the successor of Amir Timur. On the murder of this prince during the same year the book was dedicated to Jalatud-Din Sikandar as the printed copies show.
4. An incompleted copy of "Chishtia Bahishtia"[13] in two volumes by Sheikh Ala-ud-Din Thani of Barnawa, composed in 1065-66. This important work which is the life of Baha-ud-Din of Barnawa contains much useful and original information.
5. A muystical Mathnavi[14] by Mirza. Haji Muhammad Muqim (d. Hyderabad 1097 H.) .
6. "Karistan" [15] by `Inayat Khan `Rasikh' b. Nawab Shams-ud-Daulah Lutf-Ullah Khan `Sadiq' Mutahawwir jang.
7. "Rubaiyyat-i-Anand Ram" [16] `Mukhlis' dated 1156 H.
8. "Zubda-i-Gharaib"[17], volume ii only, by Muhammad Raza Tabataba.

commentaries. It makes distinction between the kaf and the gaf and ya-i-Majhul and ya-i-Ma'ruf. Its language is similar to that of Shahnama. No. 1676 is a Commentary on the Quran called "Behr-i-Mawwaj" by Shihab-ud-Din Daulatabadi dated 859 H. No. 1906-07 is an interesting copy of "Tafsir-i-Zahidi" dated 919 H. No. 1746 is another Commentary by Muin-ud-Din B. Khwaja Khwawand Mahmud, presented to Alamgir in the ghird year of his coronation. This is the original copy.

Dates of Books:

The earliest dated book is No. 1881. A copy on parchment of Itq us-Sani Minal Mudawwanah of Imam Malik, bearing the date 412 H. The next century is represented by a solitary tract[4] dated 521 H. The Makhzan-Asrar of Nizami (1523) and a fragment of "Qanun-I-Bu Ali Sina" (No. 1573) probably belong to this century.

Besides several undated books the following books belonging to the 7th century (XIII C.) are dated: No. 1569 "Sihah-i-Jauhari" is dated 548 H. : No 1570 "Isharat" is dated 653 H. : and No. 1557 "Akhlaq-i-Nasiri" is dated 666 H. No. 1527 kitab ul-lubab Fi Ma'rifatil-Ansab. Dated 725 H. : No. 1654 kitab ul-kifayah dated 782 H. and No. 1537 Tarjamah Farsi Ihya' ul-Ulum dated 797, with several other undated ones belonging to the 8th century (XIV C.) H.

Royal Books

There are four royal books (I) A unique copy of Ikhtiyarat-i-Qutb Shahi bearing the autograph of Muhammad Qutab Shah[5]. This book was composed by the order of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Bears the seals of both the rulers.

(2) A copy of "Bostan" of Sa'di copied for Sultan Muhammad Darwesh Bahadur with three double full page persian paintings, damaged, bearing the autograph of Jahangir under the date 5th Azar, year one, Agra, i. e. the coronation day of the Emperor. This autograph, being on the margin of the page, is more than half destroyed by the book-binder. It bears

A Brief Note on my Collection of Books

The collection consists of two thousand and one hundred Mss. and seventeen hundred printed books[1] and tracts mostly in Persian with a sprinkling of Arabic and Urdu works. The Mss. may be divided mainly under the following heads of which the following are strongly represented: Copies of the Quran, History and Poetry, Anthologies and Biographies of poets and saints, Prosody and Nisab books for boys.

Quran and its Commentaries:

There are 46 specimens of select Qurans, two being in Kufi script[2], belonging to the IV (X. C.) and the V (XI. C.) centuries of the Hijra era. In Naskhi character the earliest (No. 1703) belongs to the early VII H. (XIII C.). Its illumination has faded but the text and the translation are well preserved and in a good condition.

Apart from the point of view of illumination and calligraphy these Mss. offer a good opportunity of studying the various translations of the Quran in Persian current in India during the pre-Mughal period and bring to light new words and expressions not to be found in the Persian Dictionaries and Lexicons extant. Nos 1705 and 06, in two volumes are neat and elaborate specimen of Behari character. No. 1879 is a very fine specimen of Persian Quran belonging to the early X century (XVI C.) No. 1708 is Egyptian but in a poor condition. No. 1726 is a Hamail in Maghribi style belonging to the VII century (XIII C.). No. 1710 is a good specimen of Naskhi as developed later in India. Nos. 1807 and 1711 have the novelty that each page begins with some letters occurring in the top and bottom lines. No. 1718 is completed only in sixty folios. These bear the following dates : 835, 944, 946, 959, 1025, 1030, 1095, 1103, 1113 and 1130.

No. 1743 is an ancient commentary of the Quran[3] probably belonging to the early Ghazna School. Its archaic language and orthography can not be identified with other early

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71. Bale's *Select Works*, pp. 262 and 571. Parker Society, 1849.
72. *Luther's Alcoran*, Part II. pp. 111-117, 1642.
73. *Luther's Alcoran*, Part II. Ch. iv. pp. 117-125, 1642.
74. *Ibid*. Part I. Ch. xxix. pp. 94-97, 1642.
75. *Ibid*. Part I. Ch. xxxi., 1642.
76. *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 532-533. Parker Society, 1847.
77. *The works of Hy. Smith*, vol. ii. pp. 404-12. Edited by John C. Miller. "Nicholl's Series of Standard Divines," 1867.
78. *Consent of Time*, pp. 289-292.
79. "Account of the Turkish Empire," in *A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World*, pp. 180-187, by John Speed, 1646.
80. *A Little Description of the Great World*, p. 606, by Peter Heylyn, 6th edition, 1633.
81. See "A needful Caveat," appended to the translation of the *Alcoran of Mahomet*, by Ross, 1649.
82. *A View of all Religions in the World*, pp. 162-79, by A. Ross, 3rd edition, enlarged, 1658.
83. *Apocalypsis or the Revelations of Notorious Advances of Heresie*, p. 59. Translated by J. D., 1658.

The Temple of Imposture, an anonymous poem (1778), contains several allusions to the legend:-

"Thus modern Arts on Ancient Plans improve,

A Bedlam-serpent swallows Mecca's Dove."

The foregoing lines are illustrated by a serpent in the act of swallowing a dove. The same anonymous writer elswhere says:-

"Perch'd on his fingers sat the Prophet's dove,

Well-chosen Type of universal Love.

But where the serpent lurks the Dove's bely'd

All pious frauds his Sanctity had try'd."

In a note the author adds: "This dove or pigeon was the useful agent of a cunning Master, Mahomet had taught it to pick seeds out of his ears. No wonder that this bird, as if inspired, resorted so often to whisper some divine message in its master's ear. This call, which the bird had, was natural enough. The appearance was supernatural and mysterious. Thus knavish Policy dupes Ignorance."

In the last century also this story found many believers, and we read it in *The Life of Mohamet, the Famous Oriental Imposter,* published by J. Lee (1815); in another work entitiled *Imposture, Deception, and Credulity* (1838), (Family Library, No. Lxiii.); and finally in *The Mysteries of all Nations,* by J. Grant, n. d. Mr. Grant takes it as an illustration of Ornithomancy.

There is a passage in the New Testament which can be suggested as a probable origin of the story; namely, "And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him" (St. Luke v. 22).

67. *Golden Legend.* See *History of St. Pelagius* and the account of the Prophet therein.

68. "Islam," pp. 61-62, *Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch,* 1874.

69. *Select Poetry, chiefly devotional of the Reign of Queen Elisabeth,* Part II. P. 494. Parker Society, 1845.

70. *Select Poetry, chiefly devotional, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* Part II. P. 531. Parker Society, 1845.

observed, a PIGEON being substituted for the Dove, probably to avoid certain impious reflections upon Holy Scripture. In this form it is recorded by Lodowik Lloid, in his *Consent of Time* (1590), p. 292; by Scaliger and G. Sionita; by G. Sandys, in his *Travels*; and by Peter Heylyn, in his *Description of the Great World*. Dr. Stubbe has already told us what transpired between Pocok and Grotius respecting this legend (p. 150). Referring to the same circumstances, Gibbon says: "Lest it should provoke their (the Musulman's) indignation and laughter, the pious lie is suppressed in the Arabic version" (of *de Veritate Relign. Christ.*, by H. Grotius, translated into Arabic by Dr. Pocock), "but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin Text." Of all the eighteenth-century writers who celebrate this fable, John Sheffield, the Duke of Buckingham, need alone be mentioned. He is the author of "A Dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise," contained in vol. ii. Of his Works, published in 1719. The dialogue opens with a lively discourse between the Prophet and the Duke about the tricks they are supposed to have played upon the world, from which the following extracts are taken:-

G. You are merry, sir, and therefore I suppose will not be loth to confess some of your noble tricks, as you call them.

M. On condition you tell yours.

G. Agreed, and pray begin. Mine was but lay-dissembling, which ought to give place to divine-bypocrisy.

M. You have heard of my pigeon, I warrant.

G. Yes, and of your owis too. Could such a gross thing pass among them?

M. As easily as a Creed. Nay, at last, I might have spared my pains of teaching the pretty bird; for the rabble would have fancied her at my ear, tho' she had been all the while fluttering in their faces.

G. Nay, tho she had been picking out their eyes. For I must acknowlege you the best of all the Bigot-makers that ever I read of: my superstitious coxcombs never reach'd either the devotion, or morality of yours.

62. *History of English Poetry.*
63. *Flowers of History,* vol. I. P. 73. Bohn, 1849.
64. *English History,* pp. 14-28. Bohn, 1852.
65. *Travels,* chap. xii., 1883.
66. This fable, owing to its wide popularity, needs some attention. It is universally quoted, and can be traced back to the period of the *Speculum Historiale,* the *Roman de Mahomet,* and even of Hildebert of Tours.; on the other hand, it is unknown to Roger of Wendover, Matthew of Pairs, Matthew of Westminister, and Sir John Maundeville. Its introduction into England, therefore, probably took place somewhere about the end of the fourteenth century. A reference of this period is found in *Piers the Plowman, Pass, xviii.;* where we read:-

"He endauntede a douue day & nyght here fedde.
In aither of hus eris pryueliche he hadde
Corn, that the coluer eet when hee cam in places,
And in what place he prechede & the peuple tauhte,
Then sholde the coluere come to the clerke's ere,
Menynge as after mete thus Makamede here enchauntede,
And when the coluer kam thus thenne knelede the peuple,
For Makamede to men swor hit was a messager of heuene,
And sothly God self in such a coluere lyknesse
Told hym & tauhte hym hou to teche the peuple,
Thus Makamede in mysbyleyve man & woman brouhte."

It is to be noticed that the story in its early versions has a DOVE and not a PIGEON. In Lewis Vertomannus *Voyages* it is further expanded: describing his visit to Medina, the traveller speaks of "the doues of the progenie of the Doue that spake in the eare of Mahumet in lykenesse of the Holy Ghost," and assures us that he had actually seen them. In Henry Smith (*God's Arrow against Atheism and Irreligion*), this dove becomes the angel Gabriel. It has also been immortalised by Shakespeare: "Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?" *(Henry VI.,* Part I. Act I. Scene II.). About the end of the sixteenth century a marked change in this legend is

cruel and inhuman Tortures. Truly related as it was taken out of the Turkish History at Constantinople, p. 1384. London, 1687 (Guildhall Library).

A Great Vision seen in Turkeyland, and a wonderful Prophecy of a Turke concerning the subversion of that empire and the downfall of Mahomedanism. Reprinted, 1702 (Bib. Coll., W. C. Hazlitt).

42. *History of Charles the Great,* ch. iv. pp. 6 and 7. Translated by Th. Rodd, 1812.
43. *History and Literature of the Crusades.* Edited by Lady Duff Gordon, p. 41-45 ("The Universal Library").
44. *York Plays, p. 91.* Edited by Lucy T. Smith, 1885.
45. *Towneley Plays,* ix. "Caesar Augustus." E.E. Text Society, 1897.
46. *The Coventry Mysteries,* Play xxix. P. 290-91. Shak. Soc., 1841.
47. *The Goventry Mysteries, Play* xxii. P. 207.
48. *York Plays,* xxxvii. P. 392, 1885.
49. For fuller description see "Mary Magdalene" (Part II. Scene 26 and 27, pp. 98-102) in Digby Mysteries, by New Shak. Soc., 1882.
50. *The Siege of Milan and the Romance of Roland and Otuel,* Part II. E. E. Text Society, 1880.
51. *Wit and Science,* p. 144, in "Lost Tudor Plays." E. E. Drama Soc., 1907.
52. *Sir Ferumbras,* p. 181, E.E. Text Soc., 1879.
53. *Guy of Warwick.*
54. *King of Tars,* Ritson's "Met. Romances," vol,. ii. 1802.
55. *Epics and Romances of Middle Ages,* by Wagner. Edited by W. S. W. Anson, 1883.
56. See "Mahomet" in Boyle's *Dictionary,* 1738.
57. Text in Migne's *Patrologie,* vol. Clxxi. Paris, 1708.
58. *Roman de Mahomet.* Edited by Reinaud. Paris, 1831.
59. Pass. xviii. pp. 317 and 318. E. E. Text Soc., 1873.
60. See "Mahomet" and "Islamism" in *Renan's Studies of Religious History.*
61. Dunlop's *History of Fiction,* p. 296, 3rd edition, 1845.

31. *History of Charles the Great,* ch. xvii. PP. 27, 28, 29, and 30.
32. *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre,* pp. 32, 33, 44, 57. Edited by Jacob Nasmith, 1778.
33. Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History,* vol. ii. P. 515. Bohns, 1849.
34. Boyle's *Critical Dictionary,* art. 'Mahomet.'
35. *Remarkable Prophecy from the Turkish Spy,* by John Megee, 8th edition.
36. See the Account of the Prophet in Lithgow's *Travels,* p. 135. 1634 (reprint, 1906).
37. *Ibid.* p. 135 (reprint 1906)
38. Sandy's *Travels to Turkey,* etc., p. 42, 1652, 5th edition.
39. *Compleat History of the Turks,* vol. ii. Chap. iii. P. 99 and 100, 1701.
40. Islamic Library.
41. The following are the titles of some of these works:-

    '*Strange and Miraculous News from Turke sent to our English Ambassador of a woman who was seen in the firmament with a book in her hand at Medina Telnabi.* London, 1642 (Lowndes).

    True News from Turkey, being a relation of a Strange Apparition, or Vision seen at the Medina Talnabi in Arabia, together with the speech of the Turkish priest (upon the vision) Propkesying the Downfall of Mahomet's religion and the setting up of Christ's. London, 1664 (B. M.).

    Prophecies of Christopher Kotterus, etc. . . and the miraculous conversion of the Great Turk, and the translating of the Bible into the Turkish language. 2nd edition, 1664 (Hazlitt).

    Great and Wonderful Prophecies, and Astrological Predictions of the Downfall of the Turkish Empire: The glorious Conquests of the Emperor, and King of Poland, against all the Bloody Enemies of the Christian Faith. Printed for J. C. In Duke Lane, 1684 (Hazlitt).

    The Prophecies of a Turk concerning the Downfall of Mahometanism and of the settings up the Kingdom and Glory of Christ's, for which he was condemned and put to death, by divers

5. *Knolles' History of the Turks,* p. 1. 1621.
6. *Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy,* vol. iii. P. 175-76. Bohn.
7. *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle,* pp. 173-4. Bohn's editon, 1874.
8. *History of Magic,* by Naudaeus, ch. Xiv. 1657.
9. *Weber's Metrical Romances,* vol. ii., 1810.
10. *Chronicle,* pp. 173-4. Bohn's edition, 1874.
11. *History of the Crusades,* ch. V. p. 90. T. Archer ("History of the Nations" series).
12. *Flowers of History,* vol. I. P. 74. Bohn, 1849
13. See the account of the Prophet in the *History of St. Pelagius.*
14. *Voyage to Mount Libanus,* by Father Jerom Dandini, ch. viii.
15. *Travels,* ch. xii. P. 140-41, 1883.
16. *Chronicles,* p. 403. "Globe edition," 1899.
17. *Buckle's Civilisation,* vol. I. Ch. vi.; and Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe, Vol. ii, Ch.vii.
18. *A Notable Historie of the Saracens,* 1575.
19. *Ecc. Hist.* Book V. ch. xxiii. P. 291. Bohn, 1847.
20. *Hist. Of Chales the Great and Orlando,* by Turpin, vol. I. Ch. xxvi. P. 49. Translated by Th. Rodd. 1812.
21. *Ibid.* ch. ii. P. 5.
22. *Ibid.* ch. ii. P. 5.
23. *Hist. Of the Crusades,* by Ch. Mills, ch. ii. P. 50, 1826.
24. Mill's *Crusades,* ch. v. p. 124.
25. *Crusades,* by Archer, ch. iv. P. 73 ("Hist. Of the Nations" series).
26. Mill's *Crusades,* ch. vi. P. 149.
27. Archer's *Crusades,* ch. iii. P. 57 ("Hist. Of the Nations").
28. Froissart's *Chronicles,* p. 403. "Globe Edition, 1899."
29. *Hist. Of Charles the Great,* ch. xii. P. 19.
30. *English History,* vol. ii. P. 504. Bohn, 1853.

The feeling of Englishmen had reached its climax, and the following passage, which is copied from *Apocalypsis,* may serve as a specimen of the language of the period and the spirit of the time:-

"In the year six hundred twenty-two, Honorious the fifth being Bishop of Rome, and Heraclius Emperor of the East, a transcendent Arch-heretic, called Mahomet, exchanged heaven for earth . . . most depraved and corrupt. He was a serious professor of diabolical arts, a most ungodly instrument of Satan, the viceroy of Antichrist, or his sworn fore-runner."[3]

We stand now at the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, and I end my survey here, not proposing to follow the vicissitudes of the opinions held in the subsequent periods, or the influence exercised by Oriental studies.

Painful as is the inquiry into Christian misrepresentations, it has been necessary to enter upon it at length in order to know the true state of affairs and to understand the general demeanour of Europe towards us. It is beyond my present scope to examine the extent to which the malignant influence of these misrepresentations has gone against the true interests and spirit of Islam. Besides the original estrangement between Islam and Christianity, it has caused a number of deplorable events in history, such as the Crusades, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and last not least, the modern attempt to rob the Muslims of their faith, in order to lure them on to belief in the doctrines of Trinitarianism. Is it not time that we should show at least equal activity, instead of contemplating this hostile propaganda with indolent indifference and letting judgement go by default?

Foot Notes

1. *English History,* vol. I. P. 15. Bohn's edition, 1854.
2. Vide supra, p. 114.
3. Ibid., p.92.
4. *Buckle's Civilisation in England,* vol. I. Ch. Vi.

proportioned, and as evil conditioned; being naturally addicted to all villanies, infinitely Theevish, and inssatiably leacherous."[80]

Travellers to the East, and the merchants of the Levant Company, seem never to tire of repeating tales about the Prophet of the Turks. These adventurers, it seems picked up their information from the existing Works on the subject, and repeating it in the records of their travels, systematically imposed upon their countrymen. Or perhaps they durst not open their lips against time-honoured tradition sanctified by antiquity. Among the travellers I may enumerate George Sandys, William Lithgow, and Sir Thomas Herbert. All their works contain accounts of the Prophet. *The Life and Death of Mahomet,* by Sir Walter Raleigh (1637), has no fresh information to give us. Raleigh, or whoever wrote under his name, tells us that the word Mahomet means in Arabic, "Indignation and Fury."

We now reach an epoch which is of some importance in the study of the history of Islam. Alexander Ross, a divine from Aberdeen, rendered the Quran into English for the first time from the French, in 1649; he frequently employs sacred epithets such as "The great Arabian Impostor," "The Little Horn in Daniel," "Arabian Swine," "Golaith," "Grand Hypocrite," "Great Hypocrite," "Great Thief," "Thieving Cacus," "Mahomet the great destroyer, as his name signifies." He has similar expressions for the Quran, and refers to it as "A gallimaufry of errors," "Misshapen issue of Mahomet's brain," or "Corrupted puddle of Mahomet's invention."[81] In his *Religions of the world* this divine discusses the very important question, "Was Mahomet that great Antichrist spoken of by St. Paul and St. John?" He compares the traditional description of the Antichrist with the character of the Prophet, but fails to establish their identity. Wherefore he says that Mahomet could not be that Antichrist. In his further discourse, however, he says: "yet I cannot deny that he was Antichrist, in broaching a doctrine repugnant to Christ's divinity, and in persecuting Christ in his members. Besides," says he, "the number of the Beast, 666, is found in his name." [82]

the author remarks, "By all likelihood very little." He winds up his account with these lines:

"There is no evidence to prove Mahomet a true Prophet; many prove him to be a false Prophet, and blasphemous, and presumptuous, and his religion to be a wicked, carnal, absurd and false religion, proceeding from a proud spirit, and human, subtle, corrupt invention, and even from the devil, the crafty father of lies, a murderer and mankiller from the beginning."[77]

The subsequent literature that came out with regard to the Prophet is too voluminous to be noticed here. The rapid progress of the press produced numerous works. A host of writers give us the biography of the Prophet of Islam, two classes, Geographers and Travellers, having directed special attention to the history of his life. As a rule they have little information to give us; they repeat the various fables, which they copy from each other. Among the geographical works the reader may consult that published in 1590, by Lloid Lodowik.[78] This author uses the novel phraseology for which we are indebted to the Reformation. He says, "This poisoned scorpion and the only plague of Christians (I mean Mahomet)," or, "Mahomet vomited his malice."

John Speed is another Geographer. The story first related by Dr. Boorde and then by Henry Smith, as to the manner in which the Quran is supposed to have come to the Prophet, undergoes a further change under his hands. He tells us it was a Bull who brought the Quran.[79]

Peter Heylyn is another who entertains us with the same fables. We notice a marked change in the style, which betrays the sign of growing prejudice. Here are some specimens from him. He says: "This Mahomet was born in Itrarip, A. D. 572. His father was a pagan, full of Idolatry; his mother a Jew, blinded with superstition: from which worthy couple could not but proceed so godly an imp as was Mahomet." The description of the person of the Prophet had escaped the notice of all the early writers; therefore this English divine provides us with it. He says: "That Mahomet was of low stature, scald-headed, evil

Resuming the thread of our quest, we come across *A Notable History of the Saracens,* published in 1575, by Thomas Newton, who collected his materials from Augustine Curis and other authors. This work has a special interest for us, as it is the first which deal expressly with the history of the Musulmans. Newton is perhaps the earliest in English literature who mentions "The base parentage" of the Prophet. He also records the famous legend of the Coffin hanging in the air, which he describes in the following manner:-

"Afterwards his kinsfolks and allies edified a sumptuous and magnifical Temple of brickwork, and arched the same with a vault to pargeted with loadstones (whose nature is to draw iron unto it) that the iron coffin wherein Mahomet was inclosed, was drawn up even unto the top of the chruch and there hangeth. For which cause that place is yet with great devotion and pilgrimage worshipped of all the East."

Next in point of time is Henry Smith (1560-1591). This preacher, in his *God's Arrow against Atheism and Irreligion,* has devoted a whole chapter to the Prophet. This is the grossest account that we have ever read. Sad would it have been if the history of the world had been left in the custody of Christians. This work is a catalogue of all the absurdities that the Christians could invent and imagine against our Prophet, and is a fine specimen of the honesty of the Byantine and Latin authors from whom this deluded preacher collected his materials. The reader will remember the tale of the camel who is supposed to have brought the Quran to the Prophet: this author's version of it is, that when the book was framed, Mahomet caused it to be bound to the neck of a wild ass. Then, while preaching to the people, he suddenly stood amazed, as if something extraordinary had occurred, thereupon he addressed the people, saying: Go to a certain desert, there you shall find an ass with a book tied to his neck. The people rushed to the place, discovered the ass, found the book, and reverenced the Prophet. Satan once, says the preacher, being conjured to deliver his judgment respecting his view of the *Alcoran of Mahomet,* declared in reply that there were twelve thousand lies in it, the remainder being true. On this

occurred in which Protestants left Christianity and accepted Islam; Bernardinus Ochinus (commended by Calvin), Adam Neuserus Pastor of Heidelberg, and Andraeas Volanus an eminent Protestant, with many others, can be enumerated among them.[75] These circumstances filled the new Church with great alarm; while, on the other hand, the Catholics openly accused its followers of introducing Islam into Europe, calling them "Gallomahumetani." The Turk, who of old stood as the Scourge of heaven, now appeared to them as the greatest enemy of the new Chruch. On every occasion they cursed him and included him in the number of their enemies, that is, the World, the Devil, and the Turk, of whom they described the Turk as the most dangerous and most deadly. Couched in such terms is the subjoined Prayer, read in churches during the reign of Elizabeth, when, as usual, the Christians Found themselves "In danger to be attacked by the Turks."

"Almighty and everlasting God . . . we thy rebellious children, in great danger to be oppressed, by thine and our sworn and most deadly enemies the Turks, Infidels, and Miscreants, . . . against thee, O Lord, have we sinned, and transgressed thy commandments: against the Turks, Infiidels, and other enemies of the Gospel of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, have we not offended but only in this, that we acknowledge thee, the Eternal Father, and thy only son our Redeemer, with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to be one only true Almighty and everlasting God. For if we, would deny and blaspheme thy most holy name, forsake of thy dear Son, embrace false religion, commit horrible idolatries, and give ourselves to all impure, wicked, and abominable life, as they do; the devil, the world, the Turk, and all other thine enemies would be at peace with us . . . But therefore hate they us, because we acknowledge thee God the Father, and Jesus Christ thy son, whom thou hast sent. The Turk goeth about to set up, to extol, and to magnify that wicked monster and damned soul Mahumet above thy dearly beloved son Jesus Christ . . ."[76]

. . . .

prophet as Mahomet was. We do not, says he, hear of anything particularly prophesied by Mahomet; whereas this prophetical king was able to foretell, divers months before, of what kind of death, for what cause, and at what time his present living wife (though then being good in health) must afterwards die.[72]

Similarly he compares Luther with Sergius, the mythical apostle of Mahumetism. Sergius and Luther, says he, were the first Apostle of their religions: the first of Mahumetism or Turcism, the second of Lutheranism. They both were monks leaving their monasteries, both of them secured their bad attempts under the wings of temporal princes: Sergius under Mahomet, and Luther under the Duke of Saxony. Both of them had for their master and instructor, in planting their several faiths, the Devill. Sergius had him originally, not immediately; but Luther had the honour and favour to be instructed by the Devill both originally and immediately. Sergius and Luther did unanimously condemn the ancient Fathers of the Church. Sergius doth not make mention of the Sacraments of Christ in the Alcoran; Luther admitted only some. Sergius, by the strength of Mahomet, did plant his religion in many vast nations, namely, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Asia, and Affrick, whereas by the coming of Luther, only England, Scotland, and some parts of Germany and of France benefited. He concludes: "In divers points of impiety, Luther equals Sergius, in others much transcends him."[73]

The Reformed Churches, no doubt always guided by the humours of times and circumstances, have exhibited various moods towards Muslims. Luther, for instance, declares that the Pope is worse than the author of the Turkish Religion; or, to fight against the Turks is to withstand God chastising our sins by them. "We will rather be Turks than Papists," cried the Dutch Protestant army on the march against the Spaniards. The French Protestants even sent petitions to the Sultan of Turkey. Others have frankly admitted the common points of Islam and Protestantism and glorified in them. The Calvinists and the Protestants of Hungary even went further; they openly sympathised with the Turks and their religions.[74] Cases have

Thus the reader will see under what peculiar circumstance the name of Turk and Mohammed are dragged into the great controversy which agitated Europe. It would have been better, in the interest of all, had Musulmans, been kept entirely out of this religious squabble, but the subject was taken up, with equal enthusiasm, by both contending parties. Carried away by their feelings, the fierce warriors exchanged compliments by calling each other Turk and Saracen; and never did Christendom, as then, suspect herself of having turned Turk. We have seen the Protestant side of the question; let us follow the arguments of the Catholics, which they put forward in reply to the Reformed Churches. The learned Cardinal Peron has written a book on this very topic: it is called *Luther's Alcoran.* The points of agreement which this Cardinal finds between Lutheranism and Mahumetism, or Turcism, concerning their faith and religion, are forty. He then proceeds to compare persons. Foremost in his list stands Mahomet, the Prophet of the Turks, and Henry VIII., King of England. It is well, he says, that Mahomet and Henry lived not in the days of Plutarch the philosopher, for if they had, continues he, he would have placed them among the unworthies and monsters of Mankind. He remarks that Mahomet constituted himslef a great prince, and made it an article of the Mahumetan faith that himself was the supreme head of the Church of God. Henry ran in the same line with Mahomet. Mahomet punished such as were refractory to his will—the like course did "this English Antiochus" take. Mahomet had divers wives. Henry had indeed but few wives, yet, when he was weary of one wife, "his accustomed stratagem was commonly to accuse her of some forged disloyalty" : an impiety, he adds, not without a smile, never practised by Mahomet. We read, continues he, that Mahomet did not destroy any religious house or monastery erected before his time, but King Henry did overthrow all the Monasteries and religious houses in England. The ecclesiastical primacy of the church was never challenged until this "Mahumetan Henry," through more than Nemrodian avarice, had demolished several thousands of religious houses. In his conclusion he says that Henry might be reputed as great a

Neither is John Phillip behind in addressing similar prayers to the Lord; he sings:

Confound the rage of rebels stout;
Lord, be our strength and tower:
As from the Turke, so shield us, Lord,
From force of popish power. [70]

It was John Bale (1497-1563), the Bishop of Ossory, who compared Mahomet and the Pope, and minutely surveyed their chracters. He also directed his attention to discovering the true meanings of Gog and Magog, the two mysterious terms predicted in the Scriptures, He informs us that the Holy Ghost meant "none other here by this Gog and Magog, but the Romish Pope and Mahomet with their blasphemous and wicked generations." "So glorious are, " says he, "the pretence of Romish Pope and Mahomet, that they seem unto them which regard not these warnings, the very angels of light, and their churches most holy congregation, being very devils with their fiery dregs of darkness." "The Pope," he continues, "hath in his churches ceremonies without number . . . On the other side, Mahomet in his church is plenteous also in Holy observations." The learned Bishop. After citing Daniel and Saint John, observes: "The Pope maketh his beast; he is the high priest, he is of equal power with Peter, he cannot err, he is head and spouse of the Church, and he is Christ's immediate vicar. By this brawling beast he maketh men to believe he may constitute laws, keep under the Gospel, and distribute kingdom . . . Mahomet braggeth also, that he is the great Prophet, the promised Messiah, the apostle of both testaments . . . Both these two maintainers of mischief allow Moses' laws, the Psalter, the Prophets, and the Gospels, . . . yet withal they have their own filthy laws preferred above them, the Pope his execrable Decrees, and Mahomet his wicked Alcoran; . . . they murder men without measure. Thus, though they outwardly appear very virtuous, yet they are the malignant ministers of Satan, denying the Lord which hath redeemed them."[71]

The attitude of the Reformers towards Mohammed and Islam, it may be mentioned here, is remarkable. The heralds of the Reformation, who revolted against the Successor of Saint Peter, still continued loyal to him in his opinion of Islam. Faithfully they embraced the folly of the Holy Father in this respect, without any seeming protest. A spirit of the severest hostility characterised the new movement at an early stage. The reformers not only inherited the common prejudices from Popery, but they also added to it the insolence and abuse which was so peculiar to the Byzantine writers; all this tended to intensify the bigotry and fanaticism of the Christians. Never, in any period of history, was the name of Mohammed and the Musulmans so abused. "Devils, Sarassins, Turks, it is all the same!" said the self-styled prophet, Martin Luther. "Oh, fie for shame, you horrid Devil, you damned Mahomet!" he burst out elsewhere. To him the Prophet is the "Little Horn," and the Quran is the "Little Horn's eye."[68] It seems the Little Horn's Eye offended him because it contained nought but what human understanding and reason liked. This enraged the great Reformer to such a pitch, that he called upon the meek and lowly Jesus Christ to send a volley of fire and brimstone upon the author of the Alcoran.

Another cause augmented the traditional feud against the Turks. The Pope, when too much harassed by the Reformers, did not hesitate in declaring these innovators to have been in league with "Turcisme." Stung by this sacred lie they proclaimed war against both the Pope and the Turk, and opened a fire of violent curses upon them. The Reformed Chruches soon joined forces, and the valiant and pious Protestants equally denounced the Pope and the Turk, whom they dreaded equally. The hymn of Robert Wisdom best illustrates our meaning. It is:

Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From Turk and Pope defend us, Lord,
Which both would thrust out of his throne,
Our Lord Jusus Christ, thy dear Son.[69]

including the Prophet, Worshipped Venus for a Goddess, whence the Saracens hold Friday in great honour.

The legend touching the origin of the Saracenic dress is equally instructive. Sergius was a monk, it says, "therefore the Saracens use the habit (dress) of monks, that is, to wit, a gown without a hood."[67]

The little treatise of Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, next engages our attention. It appeared about 1515, and opens with the following attractive lines:- "Here begynneth a lytell treatyse of the Turkes Lawe called Alcoran. And also it speaketh of Machamet the Nygromancer." Wynkyn de Worde gives us very little information. We find that he has stolen, word for word, the whole chapter of Maundeville, but has suppressed his name. The next thing we note is that where Maundeville said "Machamete," or "Machamete the Prophet of the Saracens," Wynkyn de Worde has written "Machamete the Nygromancer," or "Machamete the false Nygromancer." This alteration marks an early stage of a growing prejudice. What he has added as his own is this, that "Machamete in his law used a word "Accidite,' that is to say, kill, so they kill all those who would not believe in their law." By way of comment, he says that when priest goes to preach their "False belief," he has a naked sword in his hands as long as his sermon shall last, or else the sword is put on some high place, so that every one may look at it. The idea, is, he adds, to threaten all.

Andrew Boorde, in his *Introduction to Knowlede* (1542), entertains his readers with a curious story as to the manner in which the Prophet, received the Quran. The Prophet, says Dr. Boorde, trained a camel for this prupose; a book was tied to its neck, and it was sent to a neighbouring wood, under the care of a trustworthy servant. When the people had gathered together, in expectation of a mighty miracle, the animal was let loose by the servant, according to his instructions. The beast came straight to the Prophet and knelt down; the Prophet took the book from its neck, read passages from it, and exclaimed: "This camel hath brought our law, that we must keep."

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unfortunate death of a hermit; but this has already appeared in these pages.[65] The work ascribed to Maundeville deserves admiration on the ground that the author does not employ the abusive language, in reference to our Prophet, which his other co-religionists so regularly use. He does not couple his ignorance with insolence. Similarly, he is generous towards the Saracens, of whom he says:

"For the Sarazines been good and faithful. For they keep entirely the commandment of the Holy Book Alkoran, that God sent them by his messegner Machamete."

Leaving little more than a century behind, we enter the period celebrated for the introduction of the Press in England, and we are made acquainted with the *Golden Legend*, originally written in 1270, and translated by Caxton in 1470. In this the notion that the Prophet claimed to be the Messiah is very prevalent. The Legend, however, describes him as a "False Prophet" and an "Enchanter," and proceds: "There was a clerk much renowned in the Court of Rome, who departed thence in great disdain, found Mahomet, and said to him, I will make you lord and chief of all the people; for this purpose he nourished a dove and laid wheat and other corn in the ear of Mahomet, and set the dove upon his shoulders and fed him out of his ear. When the bird was quite accustomed to picking the corn out of his ear, the 'Clerk' called the people, and said that he would make him lord over them all, on whom the Holy Ghost should descend in the likeness of a 'culver' or dove. Then he let the dove fly secretly, and it flew on the shoulder of Mahomet, who was present, and when the people saw this thing, they supposed that the Holy Ghost had descended on Him."[66] A little later the author quotes the name of the "Clerk" as Sergious, from some book which he presumes to be "more true than that of the dove," and calls him a heretic, who fell into the heresy of Nestorius, was expelled from his monastery, came to Arabia, and abode with Mahomet. On the authority of a fresh chronicle he is described as the Archdeacon of Antioch, who was a Jocobite and preached circumcision. Further, it is said that all the people of Arabia,

Several anecdotes of a like nature are given, and his adultery and sensuality are also described. Matthew declares that Mahomet prophesied that he would ascend to heaven three days after his death. Relying on this, says he, his people waited until twelve days after his death, but his prediction did no come true. They thereupon buried him and kept a further watch for thirty days. expecting the body to be carried to heaven.

He further tells us that the first law that Mahomet taught was "increase and multiply." He enjoined the Saracens to have as many wives and concubines as they could afford; if any one has a lesser number than he can feed and govern, he is accused of avarice and of transgressing the law, and more wives are assigned to him by the decision of the authorities. [64]

In contemplating the sources of our historian's information, we are again and again reminded of the so-called *Apology* of Alkindy. Truly, there exists a striking resemblance between the two works, and but little doubt can be entertained that Matthew or his informant had access to the *Apology*.

With unexpected pleasure we listen to the views advanced by the famous traveller, Sir John Maundeville (1322-1356). We do not know whether this imaginary traveller was really worthy of the daughter of the Sowdone of Egypt, a union which he so cordially declined; but we are certain that he deserves, "full well," the tribute of our humble praise. The physicians, in general, have entertained high notions of the Arabian Prophet, and Maundeville is the foremost of them. Now the "Machamete" of Maundeville is not the same man as has been hitherto considered. The "cunning Magician" of Wendover, the Robber of Paris, to him is a "wise," a "rich" and "great astronomer," who afterwards became the "Governor and Prince" of the land of Caxrodone, and Maundeville attests that he governed it "fully wisely." Our physician records a miracle performed by the prophet, which, sad to say, has not been acknowledged by history. The door of a chapel, says he, where a hermit dwelt, began to grow large and Big at the entry of the Prophet! And this is the first mircale which Machamete performed. The Knight speaks of another miracle of his "Machamete," which relates the

The historian adopts the legend of the "epileptic fits," which, on account of its wide celebrity, needs no further mention: and he describes the manner of the Prophet's death, as recorded elsewhere. Referring to this account, which was received in a letter from the East by Pope Gregory IX., in the year 1236, the historian Matthew Paris observes that, when it was published to the world, it excited the derision and mockery of all.

Matthew himself gives us more details. Two Mohammeds are known to him. The first, "Maumath," as he styles him, is the twenty-eighth person in a direct genealogy from Ishmael. This Maumeth, says the historian, sprang from Abdellah, son of Abdelmudalib, son of Escim, and is considered the prophet of the Saracens. But Matthew Paris does not stop here. He extends his list of generations still further. From Maumeth, he goes on, were successively begotten Abdecemus, Humenla, Abilaz, Acfan, Morcan, Abdelmelibe, Maria, Abderachman (by some called Abdimenef), and from him sprung Mahomet, who is now worshipped and reverenced by the Saracens as their chief prophet. He also gives us the life story of this last mentioned Mahomet, and says that as apostate monk, who had fallen into heresy, wrote his doctrine. The name of this monk is recorded as Sergius or Solius. The event of the Prophet's Hegira is turned into a camel-stealing episode, which is described thus: "He (the Prophet) seized the camel of Aige Hali and fled to Mecca, whereupon the inhabitants expelled him from the city." Next the historian states that "Mahomet had no spirit of prophecy," and the following is one of his arguments:-

"He sent a follower of his, named Gadimelic, with forty soldiers to rob the merchants who were travelling with large sums of money. There men were met by Aige Hely, the son of Jesern (whose camel Mahomet had stolen), attended by three hundred men of his city, and at sight of this the robbers sent by Mahomet took to fight. This, says the historian, "proves that Mahomet had no spirit of prophecy." Matthew relates that "Oftentimes, too, he sent his followers by night to the house of his enemies, secretly and treacherously to slay the inmates."

Simon Magus and biship Cayphas,
Bishop Annas and the traitor Judas,
Mahomet that prophet poisonable,
Core, Wathan, and Abiram there was."

Although out of place, it may not be amiss to state that the name Mahomet has had a narrow escape from becoming an abusive term. The English poet Kennedy, however, has used in that sense. In a satire which he Addressed to the contemporary Scotch poet Dunbar, he has the following lines:-

Conspirator, cursit cockatrice, hell's ka,
Turk, trumpour, traitor, tyrant intemperat;
Thou ireful atter-cap, Pilot apostata,
Judas, Jew, juggler Lollard Laureat;
Saracen, Symonite proud Pagan pronunceat,
Mahomet, mansworm, rebald abominable,
Devil, damnit dog, in evil unsatiable,
With Gog and Magog great glorificat.

Only once the Prophet has been allowed to have suitable companions. It is by the author of the *Tribus Impostribus*, a heretic who accounts Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed as three impostors.

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The honour of introducing the Prophet into the pages of English history belongs to the historian Roger Wendover[63] (died 1237 A.D.). In the narratives of his precursors nothing is recorded of the founder of Islam, beyond an occasional mention of his name. Roger calls him the "False prophet of the Saracens," and a "cunning magician," who entered the province of Corozon, the queen of which was Cadison. "He fascinated her," says the historian, "let her into error, and claimed to be the Messiah, whom the Jews expected." Cadison, says he, believing in his latent divinity, married him, and the Jews and Saracens flocked to him:

at the Court of Rome who had the ambition of becoming pope and prince of Holy Church. But he was a "Lusshebargh" (bad coin), so, when he failed in his design, full of anger and revenge, he stole into Syria, and somehow became master of that land. He tamed a dove and fed it privately, day and night, in his ear. When he preached, the bird came to the "clerk's" ear, and Makamede said to the people that it was a messenger of heaven, truly, "Very God himself," who came in the likeness of the dove, to instruct him how to teach mankind.[59]

Another view, which Bayle records, indentified the Prophet with the head of the Nicolaitans.

When the Christians, found out that, after all, the founder of Islam was one of them, they did not hesitate to denounce him as a heretic, but we do not hear of any ecclesiastical stigma or excommunication. The sentence of the poets, however, remains on record. Dante places him, as a heresiarch, in the Inferno (23-31), and depicts a most horrible scene. Fra Dolcino and Bertrand de Born are his companions: the demons of hell tear the flesh off his body, devour it, and, as soon as the wounds heal, renew the same action. Ali, his cousin, stands by, witnessing this with tears in his eyes. Similarly the celebrated Italian painter, Orcagna, includes him in the trio of the great despisers of all religions, and paints him in the hell of the Campo Santo at Pisa. The persons, of this trio, are, Mohammed, Averroes, (Ibn Rushd), and Antichrist.[60] Also, in the *History of Guerino Meschino,* we are informed that the hero Guerino, on his visit to Ireland, was privileged to enter the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and there, in a group, he saw Judas Iscariot, Nero, and Mohammed.[61]

In England Dante was echoed by Skelton, who, in his *Nygromancer,* as quoted by Warton,[62] places the Prophet, in hell, in the company of Pointius Pilate, Judas the Traitor, and King Herod. The scottish poet, Sir David Lyndsay, in his "Dream" descends into hell. His guide, the Remembrance, shows him a goodly company, in which he also finds the "prophet poisonable." He says:

"Ruling that rout I saw in cups of brass

So far we have dealt with the narratives in which the Proplhet figures as a supernatural being: now we propose to examine those which accept him as a member of the human race, and acknowledge him as an historical character. Early in the twelfth century a report spread, which represented him as a Christian, and gradually eclipsed the old belief in his divinity. The episodes related by Hildebert of Tours (1139), the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beavais, and the *roman de Mahomet*, by Alexander du Pont, are the chief authorities for this view. Hildebert describes him as a bad devotee, full of perfidy, who lived in the Church. He wanted to be "praesul" in Jerusalem. Theodosius, the good Emperor, drives him away. The "magus" goes to Lybia, where he stays at the house of a consul, whom he murders in order to replace him. The king of Lybia being dead, he informs the people that he who tames the white bull (which he had secretly tamed underground) will be king. Thus he became king, and wanted to be taken as God, but God punished him by epilepsy. He met with a horrible death, being eaten by pigs, and his tomb hangs in the air.[57]

The "Roman" speaks of him as a "good clerk," born of a serf in Idumea, called Avdimenef. He meets a hermit, who predicts that Mahomet would be a great tribulation to the laws of Jesus, and false laws would set in through him. After the death of his baron, whom he had served very well, Mahomet induces the wodow to espouse himself. On the day of marriage he has an attack of epilepsy, which he explains away as a visit from the Archangel. He deceives the barons by false miracles. He resides in the neighbourhood of Mecca, surrounded by his vassals, and possessing the choicest forest, meadows, gardens, and rivers; he preaches polygamy, circumcision, and the suppression of sacraments. The Persians invade Idumea: he is unwilling toe fight, but his barons force him. After a fierce battle he flies, under the pretence of comforting the old folks. On his death his corpse was put into a metal chest levitated in the air.[58]

The following is the version of the story transmitted to us by William Langland in *Piers the Plowman*. People say that Makamede was a "Christian man," a great clerk, and a Cardinal

The belief in the idol Mahomet survived even as late as 1542. In that year a work was published in Germany by Henry Cnustin with the title, *The Low Origin, the Scandalous Life, and the Disgraceful End of the Turkish Idol Mahomet, with his Damnable and Blasphemous Doctrine.*

The belief that the Devil resided in the idol gradually developed into a peculiar notion, and finally gave a new meaning to the word "Mahound." There is no record of this change, and we are left to the mercy of conjecture. We must presume, then, that when the idol Mahoun had fallen under the axe of some knight, and was destroyed, there arose the "devil Mahoun" from its dust. It is in this form that we are introduced to Mahoun in Chaucer, William Langland, and others. Mahoun in Chaucer is only an object of adjuration. In Langland he is very active. when Christ descends into hell, Satan advises his friends to close the gates and check the progress of the enemy. Mahoun is posted on the Mongonel to throw stones. He also figures as an important persongage in Dunbar's "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins," in which others dance to his order.

"Methought amongis the fiends of hell
Mahoun gart cry an daunce."

The Scotch poet seems very much enamoured of Mahoun, wherefore he celebrates him in another poem, "The joust between the Tailor and Soutar." In this joust Mahoun presides over a tournament. This poem finishes with the words:

"Before Mahound, the heir of hell,
Schines Irow it gif ye list."

Another Scotch song, "Gyre-Carling," preserved by Laing in his *Popular Poetry of Scotland*, commemorates Mahoun. This song described how the mother witch of the Scottish peasantry, living on the blood of Christian men, is driven out by the king of fairies, and flying to Palestine, to spite the Christians, marries Mahoun, and becomes the Queen of the Jews.

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154, and 164. London, 1907. Besides these three chief Gods, a number of other gods are mentioned:-

"With sterne strokes and with grete,
On Jovyn and Plotoun;
On Asfrot and sire Jovin,
On Tirmagaunt and Appolin,
He brak hem scolle and croun;
On Tirmagaunt, that was heore brother,
He lasts no lyme hole with other,
Ne on his lord seynt Mahoun" [54]

Although Charles the Great did not destroy the idol Mahomet, possibly owing to the fear of a legion of devils, there are other Christian knights who have been more fortunate in this iconoclastic exploit: Roland and his peers have achieved this fame, and Sir Bevis of Hampton is another famous knight who has been equally successful. The name of Rinaldo of Montalban can never be forgotten: his daring robbery of the golden idol of Mahomet has even been immortalised in *Don Quixote*. In the romance of Ortnit we find that Alberich, a dwarf, flung down the Moorish idols, Mahomet and Apollo, two enormous figures carved in stone.[55]

The historian, Matthew Paris, commenting on a "mournful letter" received from the Holy Land, observes that the Christians, at the time of the "Fall of the Image of Mahomet at Mecca," rejoiced greatly. "They exulted in the fall of the image" and to this exultation he attributes the fury of the "Chrosmins," and the misfortunes that befell the Christians in consequence.

Bayle quotes from the *History of the Holy Wars*, by Father Mabillion, that Tancred found the Statue of Mahomet in the Mosque of Omar, seated on a high throne. Six strong men could not lift it, and when he was informed that it was Mahomet, he made a very pathetic harangue to the idol, and cried out:

"It is this wicked Mahomet, who was the first Antichrist. If the Antichrist that is to come were now here with this, truly I would quickly have crushed him under my feet." [56]

Mahown," He is a "Glorious Ghost," helps the heathens, watches and rules over them, and receives their souls when they die. It appears that the mode of Christian worship grieves him; he is jealous of Christ's Godhead; hence the heathens fight with the Christians. They carry his images or pictures on their crest. The Christians, on their part, look upon him as "Sorry Mahound," "Mad Mahound," and last of all, "False Mahound."[50]

The fact is not recorded, but a belief is current, that Mahound also suffered crucifixion. "By the blood of Mahound," "By the blood that Mahound bled," or "By the precious blood of Mahound," is the common cry of all Paynims, whether Herod, the Sowdone of Babylon, the Amyral, or Saladin. The adjuration "by Mahound" is so frequent that, in several romances, it is exclusively appropriated for this prupose. The following verses, however, contain curious variations:-

"By Mahound's bones! had the wretches tarried,
Their necks without heads they should have carried!
Yea, by Mahound's nose! Might I have patted them,
In twenty gobbets I should have squatted them." [51]

For a long time, it appears, Mahound alone fulfilled the duties of Godhead, and had no partner or associate. All early writings confirm this opinion, but the fourteenth century romance literature introduced new changes in this belief. The term Saracen, which was sometimes applied to the heathens of the West, perhaps gave rise to a confusion in the mind of the romancers, which led to the coupling of Mahound with Apollo or Termagant.

"And ther-for, swete fader myn,
Forsak Mahoun and Appolyn! [52]

So help me, Mahown of might,
And Termagant, my God so bright." [53]

A further development was due to trinitarian views, the persons of the Saracenic trinity being Mahound, Apolyn, and Termagant. See *Song of roland,* ed. J. Crossland, pp. 130, 131,

dungeon, or torn by dragons. John the Baptist, he says, would have destroyed our laws, therefore I killed him.[46]

The association of Herod with Mahound, and his appearance in the dress of a Saracen monarch, gave rise to a very singular notion, of which we have recorded an echo elsewhere, that it was the Musulman who crucified the Lord Jesus. The term "Enemies of God," And its application to the Saracens, is another indication of the same belief. We find Caiphas and Pilate among the less zealous devotees of Mahound, and to them can be added the renowned name of "Belyalle," whose residence, we are told, is in Hell. This personage cries out:

"Alle the develys, that ben in helle,
Shull pray to Mahound, as I the telle."[47]

A play called "|The Harrowing of Hell," again, contains a scene in which Jesus commands Satan to go to his cell. This order makes Satan sink, and while sinking, he invokes Mahound to his aid, and cries out:-

"Owt, ay! Herrowe! Helpe Mahounde!
Nowe wex I woode oute of my witte."[48]

Similarly, when the Holy Ghost descends, and the apostles receive the gift of tongues, and speak in various languages, the Jewish doctors marvel at this prodigy, and draw each other's attention by saying, "Hark, master, for Mahound's pain," etc.

The method with which the worship of Mahound is conducted so closely resembles contemporary Catholic services, that we need not detail it here. Two or three observations may suffice. It is pretty certain that the Saracens prayed in Latin; they also allowed music in their services and sang hymns. At the close of the service, the priest gave his benison, and exhorted the congregation to stand fast in the "Grace of Mahound"; then he showed them the sacred relics of Mahound, a neck bone, an eye-lid,[49] and so on.

The attributes and the office of Mahound next demand our attention. In the first place he is a God, a great God, almighty God. He is also described as "St. Mahoun," "Lord Mahown," Sir

contraction it has been rendered Mahoune, Mahown, Mahoun, Mahon, Macon, and Maho. From Mahomet have also been derived Mammet or Mawmet (an idol), Mammetry (idolatry), Maumerye (an idolatrous temple), etc.

Mahound has received little attention from the historians of the Middle Ages, and cuts a sorry figure in contemporary history; but the few vague reforences in it to the god of the Saracens blossomed on the soil of poetry under the hands of romancers and the writers of Miracle Plays. These bards of Medieval Europe, unlike their breathern of the East, borrowed their theme from history, and moulded it into poetry, commingling the necessary fiction, of which their fraternity had the usual license. The Scripture Dramas, or Miracle Plays, were written with the object of diffusing Christianity among the people; to this end the events of Scripture History were turned into a series of dramas, and acted on the stage with due reverence. Mahound, to whom a great antiquity is assigned, figures as the God of the infidels in these plays, which throw a new light upon several other historical events. Thus we learn from them that Pharaoh was a Mahometan: when pursuing Moses, in the Red Sea, he found himself in peril of death, and nothing would save him from being drowned, he called upon his army to pray to Mahoun, and exhorts them by saying:

"Hefe uppe youre hartis ay to Mahownde,
He will be nere us in oure nede.[44]

It is also certain that the Emperor Caesar Augustus had turned Turk. His favourite form of adjuration is, "I swear you by Mahowne," or, "I pray thee, as thou lovest Mahown," or, "by Mahownd's blood."[45] Herod is indeed a fierce champion of Mahound, the warm advocate of his laws. This haughty monarch appears in the garb of a Saracen on the stage, looks as fierce as possible, and maintains a terrible appearance. He institutes a persecution against the Christians, and orders all "Christian Dogs," who deny the law of Mahown, to be brought before him. He delights to see a Christian man hanged, burnt, thrown into a

early work which gives us a description of this idol. The author tells us that the idol Mahomet, which the Saracens worshipped, was made by Mahomet himself, in his lifetime; and that, by the help of a legion of devils, it was by magic art endued with such irresistible strength that it could not be broken. A singular antipathy towards the Christians possessed this idol, and through this they were exposed to imminent danger if they ventured to approach it. Even the birds of the air, it is said, were struck dead if they happened to alight upon it.[42]

A fragment of a romance, which gives us some more particulars about the idol, is preserved in Von Sybel's *History of the Literature of the Crusades.*

Not far from Samarkand, in a meadow, runs the romance, the Paynim Sultan pitched his tent; twelve thousand men sat under its shade. There, on high, in beaten gold, sat the "Image of Mahound," between four magic loadstones: being free in the air, it moved hither and thither, as the wind blew. Fourteen princes came, and each of them made sacrifices to the idol: they grovelled, laid their gifts before it, burnt incense, and prayed; and their litany ended: Hear us, Oh Great Mahound. Elswhere, in the same romance, we are called upon to witness the gathering of the Paynim host. The Pope of the Saracens rides from Bagdad; then come the swart and sinewy Arabs, who scorn Christ and His Resurrection, while the old dame Calabre, Corbaran's mother, may be seen on a tall dromedary. She knew many strange things relative to magic and the black art. In the rear was the king of Mecca, who bore the image of Mahound, made of hollow gold. An evil spirit, through the spell of magic, resided in the idol. The Paynims danced before it, and, in the midst of the noise of drums, shawms, harps and viols, the idol reached its destination, where the Caliph waited to greet him. Then the evil spirit, who lived in the idol, commenced to speak, and said: "Heaven belongs to the God of the Christians, but earth belongs to me." Right well spake Mahound, ran the cry from the host.[43]

As seen above, Mahound is a corrupted form of Mahomet, a familiar name known to poets, romancers, and the composers of the Miracle Plays and Mysteries; through the process of

Arabia, or Egypt. The narrator is sometimes a merchant, sometimes the english Ambassador. The date changes, as also the duration of this strange occurrence, which varies from three days to a week or a forttnight. Although the versions differ as to details, their theme is the same, namely, the downfall of Islam. The contemporary histories of the Turks, down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, also embody this fable. Much to their disgust, the prophecy of these prophets never came true, and we believe never will.

MOHAMMED THE PROPHET

There is no man under heaven who has been the object of so much discussion, due either to extreme hatred or great love, as the Prophet Mohammed. Exalted in the East and discarded in the West, the Prophet has acquired a position which is difficult to define and for which it is impossible to find a parallel. He has been a central figure, to a large part of mankind, during the last thirteen centuries. His great enemies were the infidels of Mecca, but their hostility is as nothing compared to that shown by the Christian nations, which casts the story of the Jews and their detestation of Jesus entirely into the shade. It is a strange irony of fate that Mohammed, who so manifestly honoured Isa and respected his teachings, has been made the object of the grossest abuse and the vilest calumny by the followers of Isa. Since the time when vague rumours about the Saracens began to reach the European shores, he has been considered "the arch Enemy of Christinanity"; and it has been the pious duty of devout Christians to expose what they call the imposture and deception of this "great Antichrist."

There are several phases through which the history of Mohammed has passed in Europe. The first idea that Christians formed of the Prophet was that he was the God of the Saracens, to whom divine honours were accorded. In the labyrinth of popular fancy, while the title of True God was applied to Jesus Christ, Mohammed received the appellation of the False God. It was commonly believed that he was worshipped in the form of an idol. The *History of Charles the Great*, by Bishop Trupin, the source of so many songs and romances, can be cited as a very

Lamps: this brought a great Terror upon all the *Mahometans* there, but at length one *dervish* among the rest took upon him to interpret the meaning of the Apparition, and said there were but Three true Religions ever in the World, that introduced by the Ministry of *Moses*, another by *Christ*, and the last by *Mohomet;* that the *Mahometans*, as well as the rest, had wilfully Erred from their first Institutions, and that this Apparition predicted some great Troubles and Alterations to them, for he said, the opening of the Book either foretold their falling away from the first intent of their Law, as the Armed Mens disappearing seemed to intimate, or implyed some other Book which they had not yet read, and against which no power would prevail; therefore he feared their Religion was corrupt, their Prophet an Impostor, and then that Christ, whom they talked of, should shine like the sun, and set up his Name everlastingly. But the *Mahometans* were so enraged with this discourse, that they put him to a cruel and torturing Death, while he Cryed to the last Gasp, "*Oh, thou woman with the Book, save me.*"'[39]

It would be a fruitless task to inquire into the origin of this tale, which created an immense sensation and relief in Christendom, and revived the long cherished hope of the downfall of Islam. England gave it a hearty welcome, and accordingly the first work which published to born the following title.

"Good News to Christendom, from a merchant in Alexandria; discoursing a wonderful Strange Apparition, visibly seen for many days together in Arabia, over the place where the supposed Tomb of Mohammed (the Turkish Prophet) is enclosed: by which the learned Arabians prognosticate the reducing and calling of the great Turke to Christianitie, etc., London, 1620."[40]

Several other tracts and pamphlets appeared.[41] They Speak off "Strange News" or "Miraculous News," of a "Vision" or a "Prophecy"; the narrative comes either from constantionople,

1620 saw the close of the millennium, at which time they believed that the Prophet would appear. This expectation, however, was not realised, so they exclaimed, "He (the Prophet) hath falsified his promise."[36] They looked upon it as a real misfortune for the Musulmans, as well as a cause of rejoicing for themselves. "Long," says William Lithgow, "may their wicked and faithless generation gape, before he come, until such time, that in a general convocation, they be the partakers of his endless damnation in hell."[37] Others, who equally believed in the Prophet's second coming, offered excuses for him, such as that he had become lame in the way, or that he meant two thousand years instead of one thousand.[38] But to put an end to the controversy a mighty miracle was performed, which not only gave divine proof of the falsity of the religion, of Islam, but also proved the truth of the Christian faith. The age of miracles had not expired, and we read the following prodigy in the pages of a sober history:-

> "The Turks were alarmed about this time with a strange apparition at *Medina* in *Arabia*, the Burying place of their false Prophet *Mahomet;* on the 20th of September, there fell so great a Storm, and such dreadful Thunder about midnight, that frightened the People almost out of their wits; but when the Element was cleared, the people could read these words in *Arabic* characters in the Firmament, "*Oh, why will you believe Lies?*" and between Two and Three in the Morning, there was a Woman seen in White, encompassed with the sun, having a cheerful Countenance, and a Book in her Hand, coming from the *North-West*, and opposite against her, were Armies of *Turks, Persians, Arabians*, and other Mahometans, in Order of Battle, and ready to Charge her, but she kept her standing, and only opening the Book, they vanished at the sight of it: Presently upon that, all the Lamps about Mahomet's tomb went out, for a soon as the Vision, vanished, which was commonly about an hour before Sun rising, a murmuring Wind was heard, to which they imputed the extinguishing of the

design, assumed the prophetic office; or the fable that the Prophet promised to rise from the dead after three days.

. . . .

Christians, in their zeal, have gone still further. Of Islam nothing has escaped their watchful eyes. Not content with exploring the regions of its past and persent, they have endeavoured, with the same energy.to dicipher the dark pages of the future. The children of the Church have consulted the oracles, sacred and profane, and have seen visions of the downfall of Islam. Volumes might be filled with their utterances on this subject. The prophecies of Sansovino and countless others limited the life of Islam to a millennium. There were numerous predictions of a different character. The astronomers of Toledo record that "Within seven years from the year of 1229, a doubt will spring up amongst the Saracens, they shall abandon their Mosques and embrace Christianity."[33] The philosopher-emperor Leo, of Constantinople, said that Islam would be destroyed by a light-haired family. In the reign of the Empress Theodora, a prophecy announced the annihilation of the Saracens by the Macedonians. The period of 1572-1575 shall see the close of Islam, was the utterance of another oracle. An Abyssinian prediction ran thus: "Mecca and Medina shall hereafter be destroyed, and the ashes of Mahomet and his priests be dissipated."[34] the prophecy of the wandering Jew, uttered at Astrakhan in 1676, assigned the year 1700 for the breakdown of the Turks and Islam.[35] Passing over numerous vaticinations by Chruchmen, which sprang up in consequence of various interpretations of Scripture, I come to a famous vision, which excited great interest in the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. It was a sequel to a series of long-standing prophecies. Before I relate the actual story, I must inform the reader theat Christians are a millenarian people, who expected the second coming of the Lord Jesus a thousand years after his Ascension. Surprising as it may seem, they imagined that the Prophet Mohammed had also promised his second coming, and that the Muslims expected him at the expiration of the millennial period. Now, according to Christiamn calculations, the Year

preaching of Christ and His disciples, so that, when their Prophet Mohammed appeared, no idol was to be found. Thereupon they ask themselves: "Then what did our Prophet do to deserve that title?" These worthies, who find in him almost all the imaginary faults attributed to him by Christians, give the sneering answer that he called himself a true prophet, who talked to the angel Gabriel and went up to heaven, and stated that the angles and God prayed to him. This last assertion, which displays a phenomenal ignorance of one of the most common Muslim expressions, suffices of itself to prove the work of an imposture. Neither does "The Glorious Alkoran," as they style it, meet with their approval. Much to their disappointment, they find in it parables as to such matters as the "ant" and "smoke," and concluded thence that it is not a divinely inspired book. The English divine william Bedwell, in his turn, indulges in coccasional ejaculations, such as "In the Godhead are three persons, even the Musulmans confess"; or, "May not Christians be ashamed to be taught of a Turke?"

The names given to the debaters bear every appearance of having been chosen with a view to representing certain great Muslim doctors, as the champions of Christianity; and the same thing seems to have been done with regard to Yaqub Alkindly, the father of Arab philosophy, in the "Apology of Alkindy." The plan of this work, however, differs from that of the one just mentioned, for it consists of a controversy between a Christian and a Musulman. The latter, Hashimy by name, is alleged to have invited his bosom friend Alkindy, the Christian, to embrace Islam, and his invitation elicits a letter in reply. With unparalleled effrontery the authority of the Caliph Al Mamun, well known for a zeal that brooked no contradiction, is enlisted in the cause; and we are informed that this great ruler, after having the two sides of the question laid before him, lent his countenance to an attack upon his religion. This is the more incredible as the book is full of notoriously false statements, such as the story of the Christian monk Sergius, the supposed author of the Quran; the statement that the Prophet wanted to become the leader of the Arabs, and, when he failed in this

the body, the members, and the soul." Orlando proved the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus in this manner. He said. "Take the mystic example of the lion, which on the third day revives his dead cubs with his breath by licking them. What wonder that God should after three days revive His Son." [31]

Most singular is the mode of referring to the Prophet adopted by the monk Symon Simeon, when preaching his faith to a multitude of Muslims. He quotes passages from the Quran, ending them with such formulas as, "Haec, porcus Machometus mulierum amator"; or "Haec falsorius veritatis, progenitus Sathanae, Machometus" or "Haec legifer filiorum Belial Machometus" or, "Haec porcus Machometus, pudicitiae et castitatis suffocator." [32]

A new method of imposing their faith on Muslims was discovered by the Christians, as early as the tenth and the eleventh centuries of the Christian era. This consisted in producing a forged literature in the name of Muslumans. To give an instance of such pious frauds, I must invite the reader's attention to a treatise, called "A Spiritual Conference, between two doctors: Sheich Sinan and Doctor Ahmed: held on their return from Mecca. Profitable for every Musulman, man and woman." Its translator, William Bedwell, an English divine, christened it with the following title: "Mohammedis Imposturae: that is, a discovery of the Manifold Forgeris, Falsehoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed: with a demonstration of the insufficiencie of his law, contained in the cursed Alkoran; delivered in a conference held between two Mahometans, in their return from Meccha. Written long since in Arabicke, and now done into english by William Bedwell, London, 1615." This work is divided into three dialogues. From the beginning we feel that we are in a Christian atmosphere. Dr. Ahmed addresses his compainion as "Rev. Father," or "Good Father," These pseudo – Musulmans carry on a discussion, in which Christian tenets are exalted at the expense of Muslim traditions; and the conclusion they arrive at is that the Gospels and Christianity are true. In defiance of history, they maintain that idolatry was destroyed throughout the world by the

let shame be the portion of the conquered." He adds further, "If my people are subdued and I survive the contest, I will receive baptism."[29] Louis IX., king of France, in an interview with the Sultan of Babylon, declared that he had not obtained his chief desire, on account of which he had undertaken the perilous journey to the Holy Land. The Sultan naturally asked what that could be. "It is your soul," replied the French monarch, "which the devil claims as his own to be thrust into the gulf of hell." The Sultan said, "We hope, by following the laws of the most blessed Mahomet, to attain the enjoyment of the greatest pleasure in a future state." The French king made the following rejoinder: "I cannot sufficiently wonder that you, who are discreet and ciircumspect men, put faith in that impostor Mahomet, who teaches and allows so many dishonourable and filthy actions." He also added, "I have seen and examined your Alcoran, which is most filthy and impure." "On hearing these words," comments Matthew Paris, "a flood of tears bedewed the sprouting beard of the Sultan" and he was never afterwards so devoted to his "Superstition" as he had been before.[30] The historian had full confidence that this Sultan would eventually be converted to the Christian faith.

On one occasion religion was the bone of contention between Orlando, the Rustam of the West, and Ferracute, the Saracen giant. The giant, who was a Musulman, addressed Orlando thus: "There is only one God, not three, as I understand you Christians profess." "You say well," said Orlando; ":there is but one God, but your faith is imperfect; for as the Father is God, so likewise is the Son, and so is the Holy Ghost. Three persons, but one God." "Nay," said Ferracute, "if each of these three persons be God, there must be three Gods." Orlando pointed out that the distinction was only in person and not in essence and majesty, and then had recourse to the following reasoning. He said, "Let us recur to natural things. When the harp sounds, there is the art, the string, and the hands, yet but one harp. In the almond there is the shell, the coat, and the kernel. In the sun, the body, the beams, and the heat. In the wheel, the centre, the spokes, and the nave." Finally, he said, "In you likewise, there is

Antioch; and in return for these benefits, you have lost the religious name in infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."[23] Here the master who exclaimed, "My kingdom, is not of this world," is represented as an invisible general of the warriors of the Cross; while his heartless remark, with reference to his countrywomen, needs no comment. It is notorious that St. Andrew imparted the secret of the whereabouts of the Holy Lance, which pierced the side of the Lord on the Cross, to Peter Barthelemy.[25] At the Siege of Jerusalem by Godfrey there appeared St. George, on Mount Olivet, waving his glittering shield, and we have just grounds to bewail the treachery of this Arian saint.[26] At the Battle of Dorylaeum, it is said, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Theodore came forth from the mountains, on white horses, bearing white banners in their hands, and we are told that "they dealt deadly blows against the infidels."[27] During a siege of the town of "Afrique in Barbary," by the Christians, we hear that the Virgin Mary, with a host of her damsels, appeared in person to defend the Christians, a white and red banner being displayed before her. Indeed, as if our Lady and her company were not a sufficient guard, a mysterious dog made his appearance and volunteered to watch.[28] The name of this sacred animal was "Our Lady's Dog."

. . . .

We now pass on to religious controversy. Circumstances have arisen, in war or peace, which have occasioned theological discussions between the Christians amnd the Saracens. The attitude of Christendom towards Islam was early established, and the tactics of its intellectual warfare determined. King Charles admonishes Argolander, a Saracen king, thus: "Oh, Argolander, how widely do you err! You follow the vain precepts of a man. After death our souls are received into paradise and enjoy everlasting life, but yours descend to the abyss of hell. Wherefore our faith is evidently best. Accept then baptism, or fight and perish." To this, king Argolander's rejoinder was: "Far be it from me, to accept baptism, and deny Mahomet and my God! But I will fight you on these terms: if your faith is best, you shall gain the victory, otherwise heaven shall give it to me; and

it were presaging much destruction to the east and west; one was the forerunner of the day, the other of the night, to signify that mortals were threatened with calamities at both times. They carried their flaming tails towards the north, as it were ready to set the world on fire. They spread in Jannuary, and continued nearly a fortnight. At which time a dreadful plague of Saracens ravaged France with miserable slaughter; but they not long after in that country received the punishment due to their wickedness."[19]

The accounts of the mythical invasion of Spain by Charles the Great are animated by the same spirit. The sun, it is said, stood still for three days, so afford King Charles an sopportunity of pursuing and slaughtering the Saracens; [20] and the invasion of Charles was itself due to the direct instigation of St. James. The Apostle seemed so keen "to rescue his dominion from the Moabites" that he thrice appeared to the Emperor, in a vision, and commanded him to undertake the holy expedition.[21]

On another occasion the same Charles besieged the city of Pampeluna, and for three months the citizens offered a brave resistance: then "God and St. James hearkened to his petition," the town walls fell of themselves on the ground, and the city was taken. Charles only spared the lives of those Saracens who consented to be baptized; the rest he put to the sword.[22] The sign of the Cross and the bones of the saints have often proved useful instruments in a speedy massacre of the Saracens. A similar case presents itself in the history of the Crusades. From the time when Peter received his famous letter from heaven, the interference of Providence is marked at each step. Constant prodigies are witnessed. In the beginning of the movement, the miraculous goat, filled with the divine spirit, assumed the lead of the crusading host.[23] The divine spirit must have had some curious reason for appearing in the familiar garb of the Prince of Darkness. True, Heaven's ways are mysterious. The Lord Jesus Christ is also made a party. Once, in the company of the Virgin Mary and St. Peter, he appeared to a priest, and rebuked him thus: "I made you master of Nice, I opened to you the gates of

Further, among the many wrongs that Christendom sustained at the hands of the Turks, one is the loss of ten teeth to each Christian child, for it is mournfully recorded that the capture of the Holy Cross, by the Turks,' occasioned this irreparable loss.[17] We are not told, however, whether this also amounted to a *casus belli*.

As for the motive on the other side, a passage in Newton's *History of the Saracens* relates the "First cause of Grudge between the Christians and Saracens." It is to the effect that the chief paymaster of the Emperor Heraclius defrauded the Arabians of their due stipend and ordinary allowance, and, when they complained to him, very unwisely replied that there was scarcely enough to pay the Roman and Greek soldiers, "much less for such a rascal company of dogs as they were." Within a few days the author tells us, these words were "Almost the subversion and ruin of all Christendom," and even to his day the Saracens bore "a grudge of revengement for this injury in their minds against us."[18]

The rise of Islam was early interpreted by Christian divines as "A scourge of heaven for the punishment of the Christians," and the victories achieved by the Arab arms were viewed in this light. At the same time divine aid was claimed for the Christians in their wars against the Saracens. The struggle for supremacy, and the events that ensued, were embellished with glowing prodigies. There are but few victories in which it can be said that Providence did not interfere; in the remainder numerous miracles are wrought in the interests of Christendom and to the prejudice of the Saracens. Comets and apparitions are seen, angels and saints appear; even the Virgin Mary and the Lord Jesus Christ are made to bear their share. In English history the first paragraph relating to the Saracens is imbued with such colouring. The Venerable Bede, recording the event of the Battle of Tours (A.D. 732), writes:

> In the year of our Lords' Incarnation, 729, two comets appeared about the sun, to the great terror of the beholders. One of them went before the rising sun in the morning, the other followed him when he set at night, as

> sory and wrothe, and wolde have don his men to dethe; but thei alle with on accord seyd, that he him self had slayn him, when he was dronken, and schewed him his swerd alle blody; and he trowed, that thei hadden seyd sothe. And than he cursẹd the wyn, and alle tho that drynken it."[15]

The author of *A Voyage to Mount Libanus,* quoted above, assigns another cause to this prohibition. He observes that the Prophet once happened to enter a village, in the company of some soldiers; they pressed him to pay for their drink, but he refused, because after being drunk "they would have compelled him to grant them the use of the women of that place." This he could not, or would not do, therefore he "forbad the use of wine."

. . . .

Christians in all ages have found some excuse for complaint, or some cause for opening hostilities, against their enemies the Turks. In our time it is the march of Civilization, or the cause of Progress. In contrast with these worldly considerations, the motives of the Middle Ages always assumed a religious character. Faith was the leading spirit of the time, and the faithful entered into war with the Muslims on some pious peretext, e.g. to rescue the inheritance of the Lord from the possession of the infiidels, or to respond to the call of some saint or angle. The disbelief of the Saracēns in Holy Baptism and the Virgin Mary formed another justification for war. A wortheir cause that stirred the faithful was to seek vengeance for the "Blood spilt on the Cross," as may be seen in a reply sent by the Christians to the Moors, who were anxious to know why the Lords of France had attacked their country. Froissart has preserved the answer for us. It is to the effect that the title of quarrel for which they warred was "Because the Son of God, called Jesus Christ, and true Prophet was put to death by their line and generation,"and he further adds that "they had judged their God to death without title or reason,."Therefore the Christians "took the Saracens and all their sect for their enemies."[16]

where he fell down, and rolled about, gnashing with his teeth and foaming; on seeing which a number of swine, which were there, ran and tore him in pieces, and so put an end to him. His wife and family, on hearing the outcry of the swine, went out and found the body of their lord for the most part eaten by them. Collecting his remains, they deposited them with all honour in a coffer wrought with gold and silver, declaring that the angels of God, scarcely leaving his body on the earth, had carried of his soul with joy to the delights of heaven."[12]

Another explanation is found in *The Golden Legend*, which says: "And Mahomet told them that the cause was that the swine was made of the dung of the camel after Noah's Flood, and therefore it ought to be eschewed as an unclean beast."[13]

The following explanation is given by the author of *A Voyage to Mount Libanus*. "See the reason," he says, "why Mahomet forbade them the use of pork," and proceeds: "When he had hidden under the ground some vessels full of water, to perform a miracle like unto that of Moses, to show thereby that he was a greater prophet, it happened that this animal, which digs always in the earth, spoiled all his mystery."[14]

The question why the Saracens do not drink wine was thoroughly investigated, after the same fashion. Curious details are given by Sir John Maundeville, in the following narrative:-

"And also Machomete loved wel a gode Hermyte, that duelled in the deserte, a Myle from Mount Synay, . . . And so often wente Machomete to this Hermyte, that alle his men weren wrothe: for he wolde gladly here this Hermyte preche, and make his men wake alle nyghte: and therefore his men thoughten to putte the Hermyte to Dethe: and so it befelle upon a nyghte; that Machomete was dronken of gode wyn, and he felle on slepe; and his men toke Machomete's swerd out of his schethe, whils he slepte, and there with thei slowghe this Hermyte: and putten his swerd alle blody in his schethe azen. And at Morrowe, when he fond the Hermyte ded, he was fulle

two fiends in the likeness of two horses, upon one of which King Richard was to ride to battle: an angel, however, warned him of the treachery and taught him to frustrate the designs of the infernal horse.[9] Although Richard was victorious in the battle, the episode left a lasting impression on the minds of the Crusaders, and this manifested itself in an aversion for the Arab mare. The story of Gerbert—how he went among the Saracens, how he acquired the knowledge of magic, stole his Saracen teacher's book, and by means of that book entered into league with the Devil and finally became Pope-can be read in William of Malmesbury.[10] It is equally certain that the Muslim women were salso addicted to sorcery and magic. Calabre, the mother of Corbara (Corbogha), was a notorious, learned witch, who figures in several romances of the Middle Ages. Several other Saracen witches are mentioned, in the history of the Crusades, as having created obstacles to the conquest of the Holy Land.[11]

The abhorrence of swine, manifested by the Saracens, next engaged the attention of Europeans. The keenest interest was shown in this enquiry. With astonishment they exclaimed, "See, these heathens eat cats and dog! Why, then, do they refuse pork?" It was pointed out by some that pork could not be procured in Palestine, but it was reserved for Roger of Wendover to elucidate the true facts of the case. According to this eminest historian, there existed an ancient feud between the swine and the Saracens, and it is owing to this circumstance that the Musulmans abominate pig. This absurd story enjoyed a long popularity in England, and the last person who made use of it was a celebrated pracher, Henry Smith, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. As given by roger of wendover, it runs thus:

> "At a certain hour in the evening, when Mahomet was sitting in his palace, intoxicated with wine, perceiving that his accustomed sickness was coming on him, he hastened forth, asserting that he was summoned to converse with an angel, forbidding any one to follow him, lest he should perish at the sight of the angel. That he might not be hurt in falling he got on a dung heap,

Agarenes, or Ishmaelite," and in support of this contention he brings forward a genealogy of the Prophet, tracing his origin to Ishmael.[1] The change of name advocated by him was not adopted, however, and uncritical minds still continued to call the Musulmans Saracens, until at last the pioneers of Orientalism, Scaliger and Hottinger, were induced to pronounce upon the matter. Investigation led them to the startling discovery that the word Saracen was derived from the Arabic "Serq," [2] which means "to steal"; therefore Saracen came to means a thief or a robber. The same school of Orientalists supplied additional details, received with approbation, concerning the low origin of the Saracens. It was alleged that Islam received its name from Ismael,[3] and Hegira from Hagar; while similar ingenuity was employed in tracing the origin of the Tartars, who were said to have proceeded from "tartarus," a kind of hell. [4] The Turks, on the other hand, were declared to be of Trojan descent, seeing that they occupied the ancient city of Troy;[5] but subsequent writers identifed them with "Magog," while the Arabs were called "Gog."

No opinion was held with greater unanimity in the Christian Churches than the belief that the Muslims were infidels and idolators, who worshipped "God Mahomet." A hymn is preserved by the historian Ordericus Vitals, which shows how the women of Palestine sang hymns to the honour of their God. This opens:

> "Praise be to Mahomet our God: sound the glad timbrels and offer him victims, that our terrible enemies may be overcome and perish."[6]

Popular report represented the Saracens as great magicians, whose usual occupations were the black art, divination, and incantation.[7] The well-known philosophers Alchindus (Alkindy), Geber (Jabr), Thebet ben-Corat (Thabit bin Qurrah), and Avicenna (Bu-Ali bin Sina), with many others, were catalogued by the daemonographers, like the Prophet himself, as pernicious professors of diabolical magic.[8] In the "Romance of King Richard" we are informed that, when Saladin offered Richard battle, a mighty necromancer conjured for him

EARLY CHRISTIAN LEGENDS AND NOTIONS CONCERNING ISLAM

In Chapter VIII the ridiculous inventions of Christians with regard to Islam and its founder, for which it is difficult to find a parallel in history, are touched upon by Dr. Stubbes. The subject calls for more extended treatment; for the calumnies so long current in the West, false as they obviously are, have done great mischief to Muslims. These calumnies contain the early germs of the prejudices which, like a nightmare, still haunt the imagination of Europeans; and it is owing to them that Islamic studies lie under a ban, branded by the theologian and disdained by the scholar. In spite of the labours of the great Orientalists, the day of rehabilitation has not yet arrived.

In the following pages I have attempted to set before the reader some of the ideas and beliefs so popular during the Middle Ages and after, which have left an indelible impression upon European literature. For convenience' sake I have divided my article into two parts: the first dealing with the Muslims in general, the second with the Prophet.

THE SARACENS

The Musulmans are known in Christian annals under various names: they are styled Infidels, Miscreants, Paynims, Pagans, Heathens, Heathen hounds, Enemies of God, Turks, Allophili, Hagarenes, Ishmaelites Canes, Moabites, Aliens, Gentiles, etc.; and occasionally Goths and Vandals. The most popular and generally accepted term, however, was Saracens. Remarkable statements were made touching its origin. The false report that the Saracens claimed to be descended from Sarah, with the object of concealing their low birth, created widespread indignation, which is voiced by the historian Matthew Paris. "The Saracens perversely think," he exclaims, "that they are so called from Sarah; with greater truth, they ought to be called

APPENDIX
CONTAINING EARLY CHRISTIAN LEGENDS AND NOTIONS CONCERNING ISLAM

and power, and taxing their Estates, as a means to reduce them to their primitive Conditions of Piety and Poverty, suitable to their self-denying Religion. These pretences were first made use of by the Emperor Julian thereby to depress the Christians, and by this Stratagem did Mahomet gain to his Party all the ambitious and Military, who had no other way to satisfy their Inclinations but by embracing the Saracenical Religion. And by the same means he also rendered Christianity contemptible and weak, and fit only for subjection or slavery; and gave a just Colour to the pretence of his Followers, that they were the Elmunemin (Al Momenin), or true Beleivers, and that their Enemies, the Christians, were not indeed Christians, so that they seem in their Wars not to oppose but vindicate Isa.

I shall here set down some of the passages relating to Isa. Isa, the son of Mary, peace be upon him, said thus, He that greedily accumulates Riches is like him that drinketh salt water, the more he drinks the more his Thirst increaseth, and he desists not to drink untill he bursteth.—Isa, the son of Mary, said to John, the son of Zachariah, If any man say any thing concerning thee that is true, praise God for it; if he say any untruth, give unto God greater thanks for that, and he will reward that disposition of Mind in thee, and add it to the Catalogue of thy vertues, and thus without any trouble shalt thou multiply thy good Actions. –The world did once appear to Isa in the shape of an old decrepit woman, to whom Isa said, How many husbands hast thou had? She replied, The number of them hath been such that I cannot tell them to you. And are they all dead, then (added he), and have left thee? The old woman said, Nay, they did not leave me, I destroyed them all. Isa rejoyned, It is a wonder, therefore, that any should be such Fools as to doat upon thee, and not consider how thou hast used all before them, and be caution'd thereby against the Love of thee. –In the time of Isa three Men travelled together, who, having found a great Treasure, said, We want Sustenance, let one of us go & buy food, so one of them went, & upon the way resolved to buy some poison, and mix it with the Meat, and by the death of his Companions, to render himself sole possessor of the Treasure; so he empoisoned the Meat. In like Manner the other two agreed to kill him at his return, and appropriate to themselves that benefit of their Discovery. Whereupon they slew him, and also died themselves by the poison which he had mingled with the Meat. At that time Isa coming by with his Apostles, said: This is the Condition of the World, behold how these three have suffered by it, these are deceased and left behind them what they thought to be Owners of. Wo unto him that seeks Riches in this World.

There is no doubt but that Mahomet inserted these Parables to wean his Musulmin from worldly desire, yet by introducing Isa as the Author of these Precepts he did more especially recriminate upon the Christians who did not observe them, and justified his Conduct in debarring them from Honours

was no longer terminated in the purity of the mind, but in the performance of certain outward forms and Ceremonies, as if the Law, Rites and Judaism, had been only varied not abolished, and Men testified their Christianity, not so much by amending their Lives, as by exteriour bodily Gestures & Humiliations, and a zealous adherence to the party they owned, insomuch that at last there were few real Christians, notwithstanding the multitudes of professors. God did not connive at these sins and enormities, but raised, up the remote Nations in Germany & Sythia to invade Christendom, which they overrun, bearing down all before them like a Torrent; and since this was not sufficient to instruct & reform the surviving Christians, God justly permitted Mahomet to sow a new doctrine in Arabia which was directly opposite to the Christian Religion, yet did in words contain a great part of the Christian practise. He was first credited by the Saracens who revolted from the Emperor Heraclius, they having in a short time carried their conquests over Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and afterwards into Affrick and Spain, and with their Empire propagated their Religion."

Nor is it a despicable Plea of the Mahometans, which is urged by Ismael Ibn ali, a Mahometan Historian, that at the Nicene Council in the 20th year of the Reign of Constantine, there were assembled 2048 Bishops, out of which he picked only 318, and adhered to their Judgment, anathematizing Arrius, and publising a Christianity different from what had been taught before in the Church. That such a number of Bishops was summoned as the Mahometans specify is granted by the Oriental Historians of the Chruch (so saith Eutychius and Josephus, an Egyptian Presbyter, in his Preface to the Arabic Version of the Councils), and it is confest that all except the 318 did very from the Nicene faith; nor is it plain that those 318 were all Bishops, some accounts represent it as if there were but 232 Bishops, and the rest Presbyters and Monks. If that Council were so managed, as it is most likely, Mahomet was not in the wrong when he excluded out of the number of Christians, such as were neither in Life nor doctrine agreable to that Profession.

the Rules of his Gospel. He told them that such as beleived in Isa, ought to live according to his Precepts, with great Humility, Piety, & unconcernedness for the Pomp and vanities of this world; that they ought neither to seek nor retain Honours, nor Riches, or go to War, or intermeddle with State affairs, these things being inconsistent with the doctrine of Isa, and such as pursued these courses not being really Christians, since Christianity Iyes not so much in an open profession of reverence and Worship, and in the practise of a Holy Life.

Had Mahomet used a more severe Conduct towards them, he could not more handsomely have excused it; and that it may appear how justly they deserved this Censure, I shall here insert the Account which Grotius gives of the Eastern Christians of that Age, in the sixth book of his Treatise *de Veritate Rel. Christianae.*

"The true and Simple Piety which flourished amongst the Christians during their Oppressions & Persecutions begun to grow out of fashion and to be disused, after that Constantine and his Successors had not only indemnified but honoured Christianity, the world being, as it were, crowded into the Church, the Christian Emperours multiplied needless Warrs, the Bishops raised great Quarrels and Tumults about their preeminencies, and as first it proved calamitous to mankind that the tree of knowledge was preferred before the tree of Life, so then was it almost as fatal that curiosity of Speculations was more valued then true godliness, and Religion became model'd and methodised into an Art: the consequence whereof was that as heretofore in the building of Babel the erection of too high a Structure gave an occasion to the confusion of Languages, so the elevated Disquisitions of the Christian Doctors produced now a multitude of Strange Terms & unknown forms of Speech, and afterwards Discord. The comonalty being amazed and perplexed with these inexplicable Difficulties, & not knowing which to adhere to, nor what to beleive, and seeing each party establish its Opinion upon Scriptural interpretations and Allegations, they begun to complain of the obscurity & ambiguity, and first rejected, then hated and avoided the holy Writt. Religion now

more thro' ignorance and indiscretion then out of Conscience duly informed. Yet of late We are not so scrupulous but that in the West Indies wee keep infinite Numbers of poor Creatures in a most cruel Slavery and debarr them and their posterity from the benefits of the Gospel to secure to ourselves the benefit of their Labour, and thus by shutting them out from that which we think the only dore of Salvation, we do (as much as in us lyes) put their Souls in as bad a condition as their bodies, which is a Cruelty that Turks and Pagans would be ashamed of.

Tho' the Mahometans did not make warr for the Propagation of their Religion, but for the enlargement of their Empire, yet by the wise Course which they took, their Proselites increased with their Conquests, they did not force the Conquered Nations by death or Torments, imprisonments or the other Methods of Persecution, which would but have more exasperted them and perhaps have increased their Religion (for Martyrdom and a constancy in suffering fills the World with an Opinion that such are certainly in the right way who so freely lay down their Lives for it); but by loading them with Taxes and Tributes, and keeping them out of Offices and preferments, they not only kept them in a civil Obedience, but gained more to their Religion by the hopes of preferment, and the great Argument of the blessing of God upon their successes, than they could have don by the most sanguinary and cruel Persecution. I think this is evident from the growth and increase of christianity under ten Successive Persecutions, and its decay under the more gentle Rule of the Saracens; so that when we say that the Religion of Mahomet was propagated by the Sword, we must understand it only as a consequence of their Victories, and not that they forced Men by slaughters and Murders into their Opinion. I doubt Christianity owes its extension to more unjust Methods.

As Mahomet persecuted none for Religion, who beleived one God & the day of Judgement, so lest of all the Christians, who, as we have seen before, enjoyed more of his Favours then any of the other Religions; but he looked upon the generality of them as a People that tho' they outwardly professed the doctrine of Isa, yet in their Lives and manners did not at all conform to

as well as Jewry, will avow it; and Mahomet did certainly render a great Testimony of his |Wisdom, by introducing it among his Followers, for as it conduced much to the vast spreading of the Empire of which he laid the foundation (since the Mahometans could never want a pretence for making Warr upon their neighbours), so it conduced no less to the public Tranquility of that Empire which, being erected upon a Military prudence, would be apt to run into civil Broils & Confusions, if they had not that ready way of spending the noxious Humours in forreign Warr. In point of Policy great Kingdoms ought to know no period of their Growth, it being therein as in natural Bodies, which when once arrived to a determinate Pitch, immediately decline and go to ruine, so that this Opinion of theirs contributes to the subsistence and perpetuity of their Monarcy.

How repugnant soever the continuance of Slavery be to Christian Charity, it is not absolutely unlawful, nor indeed any more repugnant thereto, then is War its self; nay, it is a Moderation of the Effects & Rights of War, and I am sure Christian Statesmen, as Busbequius, &c., have condemned the European Policy for relinquishing so wise and so beneficial a Practise. The advantage thereby accruing to the particular soldiers, must needs add much to their Courage, as also doth the daily sight of those whom they by Servitude lead, as it were, in a continual Triumph. It makes them have a despicable Opinion of those Enemies whose Ancestors and Kindred they see every day to bee their Slaves; and the fear of being in the like Condition makes them more desperate in Fight, the Indignities of a lasting Slavery seeming worse then death to a generous Spirit; and as to the profit which the publick gains by it, it is is vain to expect that such extraordinary pieces of Architecture and Fortification should ever be performed by the Moderns as the Ancients effected by their Slaves.

To conclude, tho' the Principles of the Christians seem to condemn Slavery, yet in Portugal and other places it is frequently practised, & perhaps the Christian Laws & Customs against such usage had no higher Rise then the mixing the Ecclesiastical with the civil Policy, and has since been retained

Variety in other places had the same great Example for his president.

But this is not all, for the demeanour of the Saracens upon a Victory is intirely consonant to the Jewish Rules of warr, as a Jew taken in War, did not become a Slave to a Jew, but all other Captives did become Slaves, and were at the disposall of the Conqueror to be sold or employed in what service he pleased: so neither can a Mahometan be inslaved by a Mahometan; but all other Captives are at the disposal of the Conqueror, and he may employ them or make sale of them as he pleaseth. As to those that were not taken captive in war, but yeilded themselves by surrender upon Articles, it was a perpetual Law among the jews that all places subdued by them should be reduced under bondage, and the Inhabitants retained in Servitude, tho' not absolute Slavery. They were to live in an abject manner, paying a great submission, & an arbitrary Tribute to the Victor, and never to bear any comand in Israel. They were also liable to sundry personal Services occasionally, as in the building of public Edifices, Fortifications the Temple, &c.; so the Nation that upon Invasion did render themselves were to be brought into Servitude and made Tributary (Deut. Xx. 10, 11). Thus upon the Children of the Ammonites, &c., who had yeilded to the victorious Israelites upon (such) terms, did Solomon levy a Tribute of Bond Service, and they wrought personally at his public buildings (1 Kings ix. 21, 22; 2 Chron, viii. 7), so did David (1 Chron. Xxii. 2).

As the Mahometans do herein conform to the Mosaical Law, so they do nothing herein that is repugnant to the most exact Rules of Warr, which I find laid down & justified by Grotius. And if there be no Injustice therebuy done to those that are made Captives, I do not comprehend any Reason that the Christians should complain of their hard usage under the Mahometans.

But to proceed. How equitable that Mahometan Tenet is that Warrs are just for the Enlargement of Empire, I shall not determine, but it must be acknowledged that it is not so barbarous or uncouth an Opinion, but that old Greece and Rome,

Christians, is not, whether Religion, may be propagated by Arms, but whether it be lawful to make War merely for the enlargment of Empire. And herein (as in other Cases) Mahomet hath the Jews for his Defenders, whose Opinion for the affirmative is generally the same with his as to this matter. It was heretofore the Sense of most of the Pagan Emperors; and if the Christians do not own the same sentiments, few Princes do beleive or at least practise otherwise when opportunity presents, tho' they cloak their Ambition with different & more spacious pretences.

Maimonides & the Jews call such Wars—*Praelia Majestatis contra Gentes alias, ut dilatet Rex Terminos Regni et augeat Magnitudinem ejus unacum Fama.*

As Mahomet seems to have deduced his Law for an offensive War from the Jewish Doctors, so he derived out of them his Laws for Conquest. If he did everywhere destroy Idolatry, and not only within Arabia & the Caab, this is agreable to what the Jewish Rulers did who obliged the conquered Nations to become Stranger Proselites, and submitt to the seven Comandments of Noah (one whereof was against Idolatry). But if he did only condemn, and not extirpate Idolatry; if he only conquered the Gentiles and left them Tributaris with permission to continue Idolaters (which is probable, since the Turks and Moguls do so, and they would not do it were there any passage in the Alcoran, or any Assonah or Tradition to the contrary), -- then likewise had he the Mosaical Laws for his President. For by the Mosaical direct Law against Idolatry (Exod. Xxxiv. 13; Levit. Xii. 2), they were only obliged to extirpate such false worship out of the Land of promise, and not in other Accquests. It was by force only of an intervenient and prudential Law of the Jewish Sanhedrim that Idolatry was to be exterminated out of the conquer'd Territories, lest thereby the Jews should be perverted from the Worship of the true God, and turn Idolaters, so that Mahomet when he comanded all other Religions to be excluded, Arabia the desart (for they are not prohibited elsewhere) did imitate the Divine Institution for the Holy land, and in permitting

taken Chartels of Security, he means such Jews and Christians as had yeilded themselves and taken protection under him. And thus Mahomet ben Ahmet expounds him.

Elmacin (who collected his History of the Saracens out of the best Mahometan Writers, and was himself Secretary of State to one of their Princes) tells us that Mahomet gave protection and Security to the Pagans, Magi, Jews, & Christians, which swore fealty to him and paid him yearly Tribute, and that he sent Omar to the Christians, to assure them that they should live securely under his dominion, and that he would esteem their Lives & Goods, as the Lives and Goods of his Moslemin.

To this purpose there is extant a Compact or League between Mahomet and the Christians, published in France by Gabriel Sionita, and reprinted by Johanes Fabricius, a Dantzicker, which is by him affirmed to be authentic, and is mentioned by Selden, tho' Grotius takes it to be but a Figment of the Christians, that they might gain favour with the Moslemin. I shall not recite it, because I think it to be supposititious, but you may see it in English, published by Mr. Ricaut in his *Relation of the Turkish Government* (I, 2., c. 2). The sum of it is that the Christians submitting to him and paying their Tributes duly shall live and enjoy the liberty of their Religion, without any molestation, and that there shall be a perpetual amity between the Moslemin and them. In the Alcoran also there are severall passages wherein he permitts the Unbeleivers to hold their own Religion, and declares that every of them, Jew, Christian, or other, might be saved if he held that there was one God, the Creator, a day of Judgement, and lived justly and uprightly. By all this it appears that Mahomet and his Followers make warr not to enforce others to their Religion, but to enlarge their Empire, and reduce all they can under their subjection. This is the direct injuction of the Alcoran in the place already mentioned, and is avowed by Selden and Salmasius.

The Turks call the Territories of the Christians, Dar Elharb, or the Enemies' Country, and think they have a perpetual Right to make War upon such: yet it is only upon the grounds aforesaid, so that the controversy between them and the

Christian Governour thereof: Our Lord hath comanded us to fight and Conquer you, except you will embrace our Religion, and so become our Friends & Brethren, pursuing the same Comon Interest with us, so you will have us your faithful allies: but if you will not accep. of these terms, then submitt to pay us Tribute yearly, yourselves & your Posterity for ever, to us and our Successors, and we will protect you against all opposition whatsoever, and you shall be in League with us; if you agree not hereunto, then the Sword must decide our Rights, and we will not desist untill we have subdued you, and put in Execution the Will of God.

By this Declaration it is manifest that the Mahometans did propagate their Empire, but not their Religion, by force of Arms. And albeit they did not permitt others then Moslemin to enjoy any Military or Civil Comands in their Territories or entire conquests, yet the Christians and other Religions might preaceably subsist under their Protection, if they payed the Tribute demanded. In Spain the Musarabic Christians, and others in their Kingdoms & Dominions, always lived quietly and safely under them, an inviolable Justice being preserved towards them; and altho' where they conqured, the Rich and potent Nobility and Rulers were generally destroyed or reduced to nothing, which was don to prevent future Rebellions, yet it is observed by Scaliger, and it is an assured truth, that the vulgar Greeks live in a better Condition under the Turk at present then they did under their own Emperours, when there were perpetual murders practised on their Princes, and tyranny over the People; but they are now secure from Injury if they pay their Taxes. And it is indeed more the Interest of the Princes & Nobles, then of the People, which at present keeps all Europe from submitting to the Turks. The Decree of Mahomet in his Alcoran concerning the Moslemical Warrs, is in these terms: Make Warr upon those who do not beleive in God, nor that there is a day of Judgement, nor that those things are forbidden them which God and his Prophet have forbidden unto them, nor do administer due Justice to them who have taken Chartels of Security, and being subdued do readily pay the appointed Tribute. In this place by such as have

Ministers of God to execute Wrath upon such as do Evil, and that being the Viceroys of the Almighty they ought to assert the glory, Cause, and Sovereignity of God, that it may be everywhere submitted to. We are not Without many Examples of such Actings. Amongst the Jews Hyrcanus compell'd the Idumaeans to be circumcised and turn Jews, and all the Christian Histories furnish us with instances of the like Nature. It is also true that several Christian Doctors teach that a Nation guilty of enormous Crimes may be invaded, and that it is a just pretence of war to reclaim them from notorious Wickedness, it being lawful to compell them to observe those Laws of Nature whereto God hath originally subjected them.

These and sundry other Titles of Warr are treated of and maintained by the Divines who write concerning the Spanish rights over the Indians. But tho' the Christian Doctors and some Popes have urged them, & thereby prepared Apologies for the Mahometans, I do not find that Mahomet proceeded any further in Arabia the desert then to exterminate Idolatry, but not to force Men to the profession of Islamism. He himself gave Letters of security and protection to the Jews and Christians in Arabia, and never used any Violence to them upon the Account of Religion. At Medina such Jews as peaceably paid Tribute continued unmolested (tho' mortally hated), until the dayes of Omar, the son of Alchittabi, who expell'd them out of Arabia, he being told that Mahomet had prohibited that two different Religions should be tolerated within that Courty, the Seat of Empire. But tho' they were thereupon expell'd thence (which was rather an Act of Civil prudence then Religion), yet were they not compelled to Mahometanism, nor banished his other Territories.

The same Omar gave the Christians the following Security upon the taking of Jerusalem: In the name of God, merciful and gracious, from Omar, the son of Alchittabi, to the inhabitants of the City of Aelia. Security and protection is granted as to their persons, Children, Wives, estates, & all their Churches, that they be neither dstroyed, alienated, nor prohibited the Crhistians to resort to—And when Amurus, the Saracen General, under Abubecr, beseiged Gaza, He made this declaration to the

CHAPTER-X

CONCERNING THE JUSTICE OF THE MAHOMETAN WARRS, WITH A VINDICATION OF MAHOMET'S CARRIAGE TOWARDS THE CHRISTIANS; AND THAT HE DID NOT PROPAGATE HIS DOCTRINE BY THE SWORD

It is a vulgar Opinion that "Mahomet propagated his Doctrine by the Sword," and not only compelled the Arabians at first to receive his Religion, but obliged his Successors by a perpetual Vow or Precept to endeavour the Extirpation of Christianity and all other Religions, thereby to render his own universal. But how generally soever this be beleived, and how great men soever they bee who support it, yet is it no other then a palpable Mistake. It is very true that Mahomet did levy warr in Arabia, but it was with the object of restoring an old Religion, not to intorudce a new one. He taught his followers to abolish idolatry everywhere, and that all the World was obliged to the profession of these truths, that there was one God, that he had no Associates, that there was a Providence, & a Retribution hereafter proportionate to the good or ill Actions of Men, just as the Jews thought themselves obliged to bring all Mankind (as farr as in them lay) under the observation of the Law of Nature contained in the seven precepts of Noah. But that all Mankind were to be forced to the profession of his Religion, or that he compell'd any thereto, is a falsehood. Yet had it been so, it is plain that many Christian Doctors have held that Christianity may be enforced, and that it is a just Cause for one Prince to invade and conquer another's Territories, to propagate the true Religion thereby. They say that if one King may chastise and reduce under obedience the subjects of another, they may do as much for the Lord paramount of the Universe. That Kings are the

I might here expatiate in the Behalf of the Mahometan Doctrine of Predestination did I think any doubted but that it was the general Tenet of the Jews and Primitive Christians, which is sufficiently proved by the Arguments for it both in the Old and New Testament. It is certain that in reference to the soldiery none venture their Lives in Battle, like those who suppose they cannot dye before their appointed time, that all the contrivances of Men depend upon the Sovereign Will of God, that there is no such thing as Chance, nor any mistakes in the management of human Affairs but are all swayed by Destiny. O. Cromwel made this observation in the late Civil Warr, and gave no encouragement to such Preachers as taught the contrary.

Observation of Omens and all divination by Lotts as Debates to do or forbear an Action, by opening the Alcoran (as the Romans did Virgil), or shooting an Arrow into the Air, or drawing an Arrow out of the Sheaf, whereon should be written it is not the pleasure of God. This great Prophet would not suffer his Moslemin to employ anything but Reason in their Debates. He imprinted in their minds that there is not any such thing as Chance, no Mistakes in Providence whereby that befalls one which God intended for another, and that it was a folly to imagine that God would reveal that by the flight or cry of a Bird, which he would conceal from human Prudence, or to conceive that a Man's hand could discover more then his Judgement, or that a wise Conduct, and the directions of the Alcoran, were not more to be relied upon then the blind drawing out or shooting up of an Arrow. It were an endless Task to descant upon the particular Motives upon which depends the Excellency of his Laws. What a discourse might be made upon his uniting the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers in one Soveraign! Upon his rejcting all the Christian Scripture rather then decide amidst so great Uncertainty of Books, and so difficult Rules to Judge of the Right, and to reconcile the different Sects & opinions, was it not prudently foreseen that it would be more easy to introduce a new Religion then to Reform such a one? And well conjectured that all interested parties would more willingly submit to a novel Doctrine then yeild themselves to have been all in an error except one party.

It may perhaps be urged, as an Argument of Mahomet's Ignorance, that he denies all Contagion in the Pest, and other diseases in Man or Beast. But if we consider that Hippocrates speaks nothing of it, that many Physical Arguments may be brought to plead for Mahomet's Opinion, which yet is cheifly founded upon the Doctrine of Predestination, and indeed is a necessary consequential of it, this objection will have less force then is usually imagined. And in Refference to the Wisdom of it, the Successes which his Followers have gained by that Opinion, whilst the Christians yeild up their Towns, break up their Camps, &c., upon Contrary Apprehensions plead very highly for it.

This puts me in mind of another Mahometan Constitution against gaming, and accumulating Riches by any kind of Lottery, which he prohibits upon the same reason as he does Wine—as introducing Discord & Poverty and a neglect of their Duty to God. From this Law it appears how prudently Mahomet weighed the least & most remote consequences; and would not allow of those Distinctions, betwixt use and abuse, or those Sophisms by which the Christians delude themselves into practises that terminate at last in the Ruine of their Comon Wealth. He knew how much it imported a Musulman to pray to god, and to have him alwaies reverentially before his Eyes. He foresaw that such as were given to gaming, and engaged by the hopes of winning or sense of losing, would be apt to forget their Sallah or daily prayers, and so lapse into irreligion. He foresaw that gaming and the profit arising therefrom would induce Men to cheat each other, and that the first principle of cheating was a Contempt of God, a disregard of other Men and an inordinate desire of Wealth. It was his usual Saying; that he that was possessed with a vehement Thirst after Riches and temporal advantages, was in a fair way to comitt all manner of Wickedness. He knew that private Quarrels, often occasion publick damages, and involved Families, Town, and Kingdoms in an Universal, Ruine. Nor did the inconveniences seem less which follow private losses, which not only include the small Detriment of a few but many, and excite the desperate & needy to the highest and most pernicious Attempts, in which the publick suffers. He knew that the Example of some Gamesters might infect others, that Men are naturally more prone to hope then fear, to be idle then to work, to neglect then to attend the Service of God, to desire trials of enriching themselves suddenly. (tho' with great Hazards) rather then stay the tedious procedure which Industry and wisdom puts them upon. And therefore made this severe prohibition, the strictness wheeof is such that it doth not permitt them so much as to draw Lotts, who shall pay a Reckoning?

Whether it were his great Prudence, or Care for the Worship of the true God, I shall not determine, but certainly his Legislative Care extended farr when he prohibited all

in a Surat that God had permitted the one, but not the other. By this Law of Mahomet it is prohibited any Musulman to practise Usury not only with a Musulman, but with any Christian living under the protection of their Monarchy, or any other stranger coming to inhabite among them. Any one that considers the Civil Constitutions of Mahomet will find perpetual Reasons to admire his sagactity and Wisdom. It was a secret of Moses that no Israelite should practise Usury with an Isralelite, and this was very well considering that Moses did not designe to enlarge the Jewish Empire, but to preserve his people intire and unanimous in their narrow Precincts. But Mahomet proposing vaster designes, prohibits it to all Strangers living under the protection of the Musulman, for had this been permitted (there being such a multitude of Christians and others among them), this *quaestuosa Segnities* (as Pliny calls it), the facil way of growing rich by Usury, would have effiminated the Mohometans; and the frequent and great Quarrels and Tumults arising upon Usuary would have endangered their Empire, and rendered the Government odious and oppressive to the Stranger Subjects. But yet it is a Rule in their Law, that a Musulman may practise Usury with a Christian living in a forreign Territory, and by such means extort him out of his Estate, the Reason of which is because such Persons are, as it were, in a perpetual Hostility with them; and where a warr is alwaies deemed lawful, against such usury may be up in execution. The Mahometan reason for this, *quia facultates eorum patent veluti ad praedam, et direptio earn licita est quacunqz via,* is the same which St. Ambrose giveth: *cui Jure inferuntur Arma, huic legittime indicantur Usurae; quem Bello vincere potes, de hoc potes vindicare te, ab hoc usuram exige, quem non sit crimen occidere. Since Ferro dimicat qui Usuram fiagitate, sine Gladio se de Hoste ulciscitur qui fuerit Usurarius Exactor minime, ergo ubi Jus Belli, ibi etiam Jus Usurae.* Let such as please censure Mahomet as ignorant, and brutish: some Writers on Politicks considering what Evils arise from the Levitical permission of Usury with Strangers, would preferr the wisdom of Mahomet before that of Moses.

alowed by the ancient Christian Emperours, and the Laws of the Goths and Franks, in many cases) which the Jews and other Oriental Nations will not justify, as you may read in Selden's Treatise concerning an Hebrew wife.

Another Prudent Law of Mahomet was that whereby he prohibited usury to his Musulmin. It was an ancient Arabian Law that every man ought to improve his Estate, and that every one that did so should be honoured, but they who did not should be punished. This prudent Legislator knowing of what importance it was to an Empire that was to be great and lasting, that the subjects be not too poor and needy lest that incline them to rebellion and Revolt against their Prince, nor exasperated against each other by reason of some growing too great by their oppressions and extortions on the rest, amended this former Law. Besides his general Obligations to Deeds of Charity, as an addition or means thereto, he strictly forbid all manner of Usury, so that they might more readily releive their necessitous brethren either by giving or lending frankly, when they had not that way of making advantages of their Money. But lest some through Idleness might rely too much on the Charity and kindness of their Neighbours, he enjoyned all his Musulmen to follow some Trade or Vocation, whence he derived this other benefit, that his People had their thoughts and Bodies perpetually employed (which is a great secret in Government, and which perhaps was the Reason of the public Shows among the Romans, &c.), and the poorer Tradesmen were the better satisfied, and went on more cheerfully with their labour, when they saw that those who enjoyed more of the Goods of Fortune were not exempt from it, and when their Employments could not bee accounted dishonourable, the Prince and the basket-maker being of one Trade, which was another political mistery. But lest the more scrupulous Musulmin should extend this Prohibition of Usury too farr, and imagine that Usury was as lawfull as traffick, and that the bartering and exchange of Goods was a kind of Usury, by which opinions the advantages of Merchandise and disposing of their Manufactures might be lost or neglected, to pervent the inconveniences which might thereby be introduced, he declares

Jewiish doctrines, why may wee not think it consonant to that of the Judaising Christians?

As for concubines, it seems they are not repugnant to the Law, of Noture, since Abraham, Nahor, Jacob Eliphaz retained them; nor to the Mosaical Law, since Gideon had a Concubine in Sichem (& perhaps more elsewhere), nothwithstanding he had many wives (Jud. Viii. 30); and Saul, David, solomon, Rehoboam, and others many. It was not held inconsistent with Christianity, in the dayes of Justinian, for single Christian to have a Concubine, nor is it prohibited by the Cannon Law. By the Mahometan Laws and Usages, a Musalman hath no Stint as to concubines, but they must not be others then Slaves, between whom and a Musulman (by their Civil Laws) no marriage can intervence, wherein they exactly follow the Jewish policy. Upon inquiry I find that Polygamy and the use of Concubines were most ancient and inveterate practices in the ancient world, and Mahomet; might thereupon comply with them; they were both exceedingly subservient to the multiplying of subjects which are the Sinews of Empire, and therefore, prudential. They were requisite upon another Score, because in the East and south it is observed that there are far more women then Men; and he who (pretended) to be a follower of Abraham, Moses, Isa, &c., had their precedents and the Law of Nature to justify him in the Allowance. I do not find that Polygamy is a peice of Sensuality in the Mahometan Religion, nor any argument thereof: find one sentence in there whole Religion, either Alcoran or Traditions, tending that way. You may sooner hope to find such suggestions in the old and new Testament; and may with as much Justice charge the Constitutions of Lycurgus with Luxury, as the discipline of their Prophet. If I may conjecture another reason besides what policy suggested to Mahomet, I would deduce it from hence that he held (as did the Jews and Judaizing Christians), that all men were absolutely obliged by that first precept of increasing and multiplying, which could not fulfilled by the Steril, or those who left no issue behind them. And as the Mahometan Marriages have an aspect this way, so there is nothing therein or in their divorces (which last were

had don him in giving him sundry Wives (2 Sam. xii. 8). And where his sins are reckoned up, it is said, that David turned not aside from all that God had commanded him, except in the case of Uriah's wife (1 Kings xv. 5). As to private persons, there are Rules fixed in the Levitical Law concerning such as have two wives how to demean themselves (Deut. Xxi. 15). And the Precept of the Brother marrying with his Brother's Wife, is generally beleived to conclude married persons, as well as unmarried, so that we cannot imagine Polygamy to be interdicted to the Jews. If we consult Christianity, whether Polygamy be thereby prohibited to all, or only to Bishops (who ought to be the husbands of one Wife, (I Tim. iii. 2), may be a question. The emperor Valentinian made a Law, that any man might have two Wives, and married two himself. Polygamy doth not seem to be a part of the ceremonial Law, nor politically confined to the Jews only but is part of the Law of Nature, how then comes it to be abrogated? Besides, it was indubitably practised by the Judaising Christians, and is practised by the Jews in the East to this day. *Judaei Orientales plures ducunt uxores, Occidentalibus quidem licet sed Honoris gratia non Saciunt. Paulus noluit Christianos plures ducere et precipue Episcopos ut sic Judaeis obturaret qui Christianis haec objeciebant. Judaeis non precipit ut cum tres habeant duas repudient unam servent.* But Selden tells us it is permitted even to the Western Jews in case of barrenness of one wife to take another *(Hodie apud Europaeos Judaeos, veluti qui Italia ai Germania degunt, infaecundae uxore* alia (Prolis gratia) idqz non sine Pontificis indulto, interdum *superinducitur.* Selden *de vxore Hebraica,* p. 72. & seq.), so that we may conjecture, that Mahomet was told by the Judaising Christians, that Polygamy was not prohibited by their Gospel; and that he esteemed whatsoever as contrary thereto in the vulgar Gospels, to be a corruption, and inconsistent with the doctrine of him who came not to abolish, but to fulfil the Law (Math. V. 17), being rather a Paganical Tenet derived from the Roman Constitutions, and complied with by the degenerate Christians.

It is indeed remarkable that the Mahometans fdo permit but four Wives; and since this is conformable to that of the

The Mosaical constitutions give much countenance to this Plea, and an allegorical Brain which known how to dive into Misteries, may undoubtedly find out rich Mines of knowledge, Types and figures in Mahometanism. Amongst these Tryals of obedience they reckon the observation of Friday, Circumcision, abstinence from Swine's flesh, and bloud, &c. But as to the Circumcision and those other Ceremonies purely Arabian, I take them to be extremely necessary to such an Empire as he designed. For his own country not yeilding Numbers sufficient for the pursuance thereof, this obliging all the circumcision, &c., was not less wisdom then old rome practised in denisoning Forreigners, or the Jews in their Proselites.

It was also very wisely considered of Mahomet when he prohibited his Alcoran to be translated into other Languages, whereby he did (as far as in him lay) oblige all his followers to an Unity of Language; and certainly an Unity of Language, Religion, and Customs conduceth very much to the strngth & peace of a Monarchy.

I cannot in this place avoid taking Notice of some of the Political Institutions of Mahomet, because they seem to evince his great wisdom as a Legislator. One is the permission of Polygamy. The Alcoran gives liberty to each Musulman to take to himself wives two, three, or four, as he pleaseth, except he fear he is not able to render them all due benevolence. Wherein the doctrine of Mahomet doth exactly agree with the Law of Nature, except that he puts a positive restraint in his Law to a determinate Number, as Grotius, Saint Austin, and all the Jewish Rabbis even to Maimonides (whose saying exactly agrees with Mahomet's as to the Law of Nature), do averr, as you may see in Selden. But what the Law of Nature doth so indefinitely permitt, the Mosaical Law hath somewhat moderated. For the Kings, of Israel are forbid to multiply unto themselves Wives (Deut. Xvii. 17). Yet it is eveident that David had several wives even to the number of six or eight, besides his Concubines; and the Rabbins tell us that the Jewish Kings might have eighteen wives, notwrithstanding that precept. That David did not sin herein is plain, for God upbraided him as with a perticular favour that he

alms, which was a kind of Grecian levelling Law. Mahomet calls it Zacot (Zacat), which signifies as much as Increase, as if the giving Alms to the needy were the principal means to augment their Riches and this he inculcated to them that they might not grow effeminate through Luxury or mutinous by means of their riches.

Neither was there less Prudence in the precept concerning Prayers, for the injunction of the Sallah five times in twenty-four hours obliged them to a diligence and sobriety which, perhaps, no other contrivance could have engaged them to, and doth also imprint in them a sense of their Religion which without Apostasy nothing can obliterate. Besides, it is a part of that precept never to mention any Prophet or Person whom they reverence but with this Eulogy, God's Peace be with him! Of glorious memory, &c.; nor any Enemy of their Religion, but thus, God's Curse be upon him! God keep him from hurting us, &c., which saying did fix them more and more in their Religion & estrange them more and more from their adversaries.

As to the Rites and Ceremonies used in their Prayers, Pilgrimages, and other occasions, many of them (if not all) were anciently used by the Arabians and prudentially accomodated by the Prophet. These are not reckoned as Fundamentals or principal Points of their Religion, but as tryals of their Obedience to the more necessary Law. They teach that it adds to the Majesty of the Author of their Religion that there be some parts thereof, some Institutions, which transcend our Reason. That where our Intellect doth comprehend & assent to a Rite or Command, as good or wise, albeit our Compliance be most exact & ready, yet our Devotion is less then when wee intirely obey upon the command of God, since in the other Case we seem rather to follow our own Judgement then that of the Legislator. And that as in great Empires the Reverence to the Prince is best secured and established where some capricious & arbitrary Decrees intervene, and amaze rather then inform the minds of the subjects; so in Religion our Obedience becomes more perfect when we know that the divine Intellect & Will is not subordinate to ours but transcends it.

Thus two of the five Articles before mentioned seem to be established upon prudential Reasons, I mean the pilgrimage to Meccha and the Fast of Ramadan. For tho' Mahomet retain'd many Arabian usages (and such I have shewed this pilgrimage and Fast to have been), his aim being only to perform the old Religion, and not to introduce a new one, yet I beleive he rather continued these two points upon a prudent foresight that they would be of great use in a military Empire such as he designed, to the support whereof valiant and hardy Soldiers were necessary, and nothing could more conduce to the successive generation and education of such then these two institutions; for how active, laborious, & abstinent must the Women as well as the Men render themselves, to be able to endure the fatigue of the pilgrimage or the hunger of the Fast. The Pilgrimage I have described largely; the Fast in movable, and every year happens a Month later then in the year preceding, so that it falls sometimes in Summer, other times in Winter, in the hottest and coldest Seasons, the longest as well as the shortest dayes, and is observed so strictly that from daybreak to star-light not one (except travellers and sick persons) doth eat or drink any thing, or so much as wash his Mouth with a little Water; nay, the most dissolute persons who at other times adventure to drink Wine, will not then so much as smell to it. It is true that at night when the Emaum or Priest declares it to be time to eat, they feed plentifully, even to excess, and even this hath its reason upon Account of health, for this fasting and feasting in such extreams contributes to their health during the whole year. It is commended by Celsus to the healthy, not to live by rule, but use a variety in Diet, lest they contract a Custom, the change whereof would bee as dangerous as the continuance inconvenient and inconsistent with daily Action and business.

I also believe that the third Precept, concerning Alms, was poltitical in its Original, for Mahomet having persuaded his followers into such a Parsimony as was requisite to the making of them hardy, and to the making of them welcome in their quarters, that they might not lapse from his Institutions and be debauched by riches, he obliged them to those extraordinary

Yet supposing we are to take Mahomet's description of Paradise in a litteral interpretation, I know not why he should be so blamed for representing those Joyes by sensual Delights. We cannot imagine that he therby designed to encourage his followers in sensuality, and to make his Religion easy to them by indulging their brutal appetites, his severe prohibition of the delicious Juice of the Grape is alone sufficient confutation of that opinion. I have in the Embassy of Haly (Ali) represented the sense of the Mahometans concerning the pleasures of this Life, their Precepts and Arguments are as conclusive against placing of happiness in sensuality here on Earth, as those of the Stoics or Christians. Yet if Wee imagine that our souls must rise with the same bodies which we have here, excepting that our Mortality shall put on Immortality, since pleasure ariseth like knowledge from our Senses; if our bodies are to be of the same kind, but only glorified: we must imagine that the same parts and the same Senses will have the same appetities & pleasures or something analogous thereto, tho infinitely more perfect and delightful.

Let us now lay aside our prejudices and see what there is amiss in the Mahometan religion. Their Articles of Faith are few and plain, whereby they are preserved from Schisms and Heresies, for altho' they have great diversity of opinions in the explication, of their Law, yet, agreeing in the fundamentals, their differences in opinion do not reach to that breach of Charity so common among the Christians, who thereby become a scandal to all other Religions in the world. Their Notions of God are great and noble, their opinions of the Future State, as I have shewn, are consonant to those of the Jews and Christians. As to the moral part of their Religion, if we consult Hottinger, who had taken the pains to transcribe a great many of their precepts out of the books of the Mahometans, we shall see that it is not inferiour to that of the Christians. And lastly, their Religious Duties are plainly laid down, which is the cause that they are duly observed, and are in themselves very rational, tho' perhaps some of them were retained or instituted partly upon a political Account, as has been don by the wisest Legislators in all Ages.

flowing with pure Water, excellent Milk, Rich Wine, & pure Honey are the same with those of the Jews, saving that the Rabbians would have their wine spiced, and they think that the Leviathan and Behemoth will make as good dishes there as Caviare & Botargo or Sturgeon here; and they will have a River of Oyl and Balsam, viands of fruit, and bread & butter, and thirty-seven tables made of Pearl. Doth not Jesus speak of eating and drinking at his table in his Kingdom (Luke xxii. 30), and of drinking wine there (Mark xiv. 25)? The description of the new Jerusalem in the two last Chapters of the Revelations doth so much resemble the Paradise of Mahomet that one would hardly imagine that any should condemn the latter as reidiculous and gross, and yet approve the former as spiritual Truth. If the expressions are analogous, I do not see why they are not liable to an equal Construction according as the reason or prejudices of men do sway. For my part I cannot distinguish betwixt the paradise of the Jews and Christians, and that which Mahomet promiseth to his followers, and do think that our Notions of the Torments of the Wicked in a lake of fire and brimstone somewhere underground, hath as much of folly and absurdity in it as is in any fable of Mahometans.

I know they tell us that these and the like expressions in our Scripture, such as that in Psa. Xxxvi. 9 which the Latin Translation reads thus: *Inebria buntur ab ubertate Domus tuae; & de torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos*, and divers other passages in the Psalms and other places, are not to be taken in a litteral but a Metaphorical sense. The Mahometans make the same Apology for the like passages in their Alcoran; and, indeed, since all the descriptions we can make use of concerning the Senses and Nature of glorified bodies are equivocal, and deduced from what we are accustomed to upon earth, since God himself is described in Scripture, with the parts actions, & passions of a Man, wherein douibtless the Prophets accomodated themselves to the understandings of the People, I cannot see wherein lyes the fault or folly in giving such an account of Paradise and the futre State, as may be agreable to our Senses and apprehensions.

whatsoever should come to pass. That his Knowledge extends to the deepest Secrets. That nothing happens against, or not according to, his pleasure. That in all matters, to think, to do, to will, depends absolutely upon him, who is the Lord of his Creatures, the Lord of their Works, and the orderer of their Motions and Counsels.

They beleive the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the last Judgement, that those who are preserved by Faith and the intercession of the Apostle, of God, Moses, Isa, and Mahomet from sin, do after death live in happiness until the resurrection and day of Judgement: that those who are more or less wicked, must in the grave and in a kind of purgatory undergo some Torments untill the last day, and then with more or less difficulty they shall be saved; but that nothing of Evil how little soever shall escape unpunished, nor anything of good how small soever pass unrewarded.

This is the sume of Mahometan Religion, on the one hand not clogging Men's Faith with the necessity of beleiving a number of abstruse Notions which they cannot comprehend, and which are often contrary to the dictates of Reason and common Sense; nor on the other hand loading them with the performance of many troublesom, expensive, and superstitious Ceremonies, yet enjoying a due observance of Religious Worship, as the surest Method to keep Men in the bounds of their Duty both to God and Man.

As to the great exception which is taken by the Christians against the Alcoran for the descriptions of Purgatory and Paradise which are therein found, I cannot but think it very unjust, since Mahomet had herein only copied after the Jews and Christians. I have shewn before how these Religions, and the divers Sects of them, were diffused through Arabia, and Mahomet as he continued the ancient usages so he retained those Principles which the Nation had imbibed, and which he had the Christians and Jews to depose for. Such were those not only concerning the Torments in the Grave, praying for the dead, and Purgatory, but also of Paradise & its Joyes in the manner as he explicates them in his Alcoran. The four Rivers of Paradise

obligations of Religious duties to which every Musulman must yeild obedience, as to their ablutions, Circumcision, observation of Friday for a day of Devotion, abstinence from Swine's flesh and from bloud, they are reckoned as consequentials of the five principal Articles, as tending by an outward purity and observance to add to, or Represent, the purity and reality of their inward Devotions.

The first Article which the Mahometans call the double Testimony is the great Test or Symbol of their Religion; by the first part of it they distinguish themselves from the Idolaters who worship a multiplicity of Deities, and from the Christians who acknowledge a Trinity of persons in the Godhead; by the second they condemn principally the Jews who expect a Prophet of their own, whereas the Mahometans affirm that Mahomet is the most excellent and last of the Prophets.

As to their opinions concerning God, Purgatory, Judgement, and Paradise, they are as follows: --That there is one God, that there is none other beside him, that he hath no equal, no son, nor an Associate, whose Original is without beginning, and Eternity without end, whose attributes are incomprehensible and whose power exceeds all expression, whose Essence no thought can comprehend, tho' contemplative men from what they see on earth find examples to express it by, for no man can know more of God then he is pleased to reveal of himself. That the Heavens are his Throne & the Earth his footstool, but that the Government of both is no trouble nor inconvenience to him. That he is Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omnipresent, who sits upon the universal Throne by his Essence, and by his understanding penetrates into all things. That his Providence disposeth of all Affairs below, neither doth any thing fall out, not the corn grow, nor the grass wither, but according to thie Decrees of his eternal Predestination. That whatsoever Man doth ascribe to him, or imagine to be in him, it is enternal, nor do those Attributes argue any Composition or distinction in his being. That all things in this world, good or eveil, befall us according to his Will: that the beginning, progress, and conclusion of all emergencies depend absolutely upon him, and that he determined from all Eternity

express mention of Mahomet, and were for that reason expunged by them, and that a certain Christain Preist of great note informed some of them that there was not extant any unsophisticated Copy of the Gospel, except one in his own custody, and another which was preserved at Paris, and that out of his copy he read to them divers Texts which did very clearly and perspicuously prophesy concerning Mahomet.

If the application of the Prophesies, which are generally dark and enigmatical, and like the Oracles of the Heathens admit of a various construction, is of any weight, the Texts above recited seem at least as plainly to point at Mahomet and to be fulfilled in him, as any of those which the Christians pick out for their turn, and which they pretend do prophesy concerning Christ can be thought to relate to him; for upon these the Jews put a quite different Interpretation, and in many cases seem to have reason on their side, as any one may see that will give himself the trouble of perusing their books.

Yet neither do Miracles nor Prophesies prove any thing in the justification of an ill Cause. Wicked men may put tricks upon the people instead of Miracles and deceive men by impostures, which may be carried on and publish'd by a confederacy, and may also wrest pasages of Scripture in vindication of themselves and their doctrines. If, therefore, the Religion which Mahomet taught be so impure, gross, and absurd, and the means whereby he established it so wicked and unjust as the Christians endeavour to represent them, tne Authority both of Miracles and Prophesies must fall to the ground, for no man can beleive that God will work a Miracle to justify false Religion, or mention the Author of such a one without a mark of infamy.

Let us therefore look into the Mahometan Religion which is Summarily included in the five following Articles or fundamentals of their Law. First, to beleive and profess that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his Prophet. Secondly, to be constant in the repeating of their Sallah, or Prayers, at the appointed times. Thirdly, to give Alms. Fourthly, to perform the pilgrimage to Meccha. Fifthly, to observe the Fast of Ramadan. Of these five only the first relates to matter of Faith, the rest are

which they principally make use of for that purpose are these which follow.

Deut, xxxiii. 2, God is said to have come from Sinai to have appeared ın Seir, and manifested himself in Paran: which they interpret that God gave the Law to Moses in Sinai, that in Seir, which are Mountaıns near Jerusalem, hee have the Gospel to Isa, and thereby further illustrated the Law (in token of which Isa himself was circumcised, and he himself said that he came not to destroy the Law of Moses but to confirm it); lastly, they say that by paran are meant the Mountains near Meccha, where the same Law was perfected and magnified by their Prophet Mahomet, who is the fullness of the Law of God.

Psa. I, 2, It is said out of Sion the perfection of beauty God hath shined, which the Syriac Version reads thus: Out of Sion God hath shewed a glorious Crown. The last words being in that Language Eclilan Mahmudan, they mistically accomodated to their Prophet Mahmud or Mahommet and interpret the Crown of Mahomet.

Isaiah xxi. 7, We read, --And he saw with a couple of horsemen a Chariot of Asses, and a Chariot of Camels. But the old Latin Version hath it: *Et Vidit currum duoru Equitum, Asscensorem Asini* and *Ascensorem Cameli.* And in the Translation of Vatablus- the verse runs thus: *Ille ergo cum contemplatus esset contemplatiōne multa et diligenti, vidit par equitum quorum alter asino alter vero camelo vehebatur.* Where by the rider upon an Ass they understand Jesus Christ, because he did so ride to Jerusalem; and by the rider on the Camel, Mahomet, because he was an Arabian, which people used to ride upon Camels.

Lastly, whereas Isa says in the Gospel (John xvı. 7), Except I go hence, the Comforter will not come to you: but if I depart, I will send him unto you. By the Comforter in this place, they say, is meant Mahomet, the Paraclete or Comforter being one of his names or titles in the Arabian language.

They say, further, that before the Gospells were corrupted by the Christians, there were divers passages which made

The Mesra or famous Journey of Mahomet to Heaven by night is by some accounted to be a real Transportation, as Habakuk was carried by the Angel; but others only as a vision or extasy, as St. Paul was taken up into the third Heaven.

There are divers other Miracles related of Mahomet, as that the Stones saluted him in the Streets, and cryed, Peace be to thee, O Apostle of God! That twice, when his Army was in great distress for want of water, it issued out betwixt his fingers in so great a quantity as to supply all their necessities. That he fed Multitudes with a little food, as once 80 persons with a little bread, also 80 persons with four measures of barely and a kid. That he releived his whole Army with a few dates which a Damsel brought him in her hand, and there remained many after they were satisfied. That the stump of a tree on which he used to lean when he preached at Medina groan'd as loud as a Camel, when he removed his Station and made use of a pulpit, and that when he returned to the usual place it desisted to groan. That a Camel complained to him of his Master, that he put him upon hard work and yet made slender provisions to feed him. These and sundry other Miracles are related concerning him whereupon the Mahometans do not much rely; yet they say that tho' they were don but once or seldom, the concurrent Testimony of so many Miracles joyned together, is a pregnant Evidence of the truth of his Apostleship, since they are related by credible Witnesses who would not conspire to cheat Mankind in such a matter: which plea the Christians themselves make use of, and therefore is not to be lightly rejected; but the most judicious of them insist principally upon the Alcoran as a standing Miracle, since so many persons of singular Eloquence did attempt to write the like, but could never equal it.

As Mahomet allowed and approved of the Scriptures or Canonical books of the Jews and Christians (excepting only that he alledged they had been in some things sophisticated and altered), so his followers have found divers passages in them which they say Prophesy concerning Mahomet, which they therefore insist on as further proofs of his Mission, the Texts

against Miracles and find pretences to evade them; that the Miracles were the works of God. not of Man; that they were not perform'd at the will of the Prophets, but that God wrought them when, where, and how he pleased, and not only to confirm truth, but sometimes to try his people, and that some Prophets never wrought any.

The Protestants in the begining of the Reformation excused themselves very handsomely as to this point, but it would be tedious to transcribe their defence. We find it written expressively of John Baptist that he did no Miracles, nor do wee read that Amos or some others of the Prophets did any, and the Antichrist it is said that he shall plerform great signs and great wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the very elect.

Yet some of the followers of Mahomet ascribe to him several Miracles, whether really don by him, tho' not insisted on through modersty or Policy, or whether the Christian and Jewish converts to that Religion retained their inclination to miraculous legendry stories, and invented those Miracles which are attributed to him, I shall not determine, but it is certain that some of them are grounded upon mistakes of some of the more ignorantly zealous Mahometans.

Thus some of them tell us that the moon approaching to Mahomet he divided it in two parts, which is occasioned by mistaking a passage in the Alcoran where it is said that before the end of the world such a rupture shall happen, which bears resemblance to the predictions of Christ concerning the end of the world, so that the Christians have certainly Mispent their time in refuting as impossible what is not pretended to have been don.

Thus they say that the sheep spoke to him when he was eating the posioned shoulder of Mutton and advertised him not to eat of it. But Abulfeda only relates the story as if Mahomet, having tasted a peice of it, spit it out again, and said this Mutton tells me that it is empoisoned; that is, I perceive it is empoisoned.

Apology for our Scripture, that the Spirit of God in the Prophets is not confined to the gramatical Rules and ordinary Methods.

It is further observable that the Alcoran being such a Poem is not to be judged of by any Translation into Prose, much less such as we have among us. Our English translation follows the French, and the French is very corrupt, altering and omitting many passages. There are so many stories alluded to, such Idioms of Arabick Poetry and of the Arabian tongue, that it is impossible to explicate it without the help of the Arabick, Persian, and Turkish comentaries which our translators not knowing, or for their Interest not regarding, have obtruded on the world such figments as Mahomet never uttered. I have often reflected upon the exceptions made by the Christians against the Alcoran, and find them to be no other then what may be urged with the same strength against our Bible; and what the Christians say for themselves will fully justify the Alcoran, therefore I shall not excuse Mahomet by comparing his errors with those of the Talmud, and our Ecclesiastical History, or the Popish Legends, or the Fables recorded in our Fatheres, and beleived by the primitive Christians.

As for Miracles, Mahomet was so far from counterfeiting those mentioned before or any others, tht he constantly rejected their Authority as impertinent and unnecessary. There were so many obtruded on the World (especially by the Christians), that he scorned the pretence, and he had these further considerations that true Miracles cannot be distinguished from false by any human Test; that the wicked may do real Miracles; that some Miracles might be derived from Magick or be the effect of some celestial Constellation ruling the nativity of perticular persons; which last opinion was comon among the Arabians & Chaldeans and the Oriental Astrologers, so that for him to have insisted upon Miracles among them would have been to little purpose or advantage. Whatsoever of Miracles befell him, the Coreischites ascribed to Magic, and yet they importuned him to move Mountains, raise the dead, produce an Angel visibly, &c. to all which he replied that the greatest of Miracles was the Alcoran, that such was their unbeleif, that they would be obstinate even

incoherency & confusion, Errors in History & chronology, and charge it with numberless trifles, fables, and absurdites.

The late learned Mr. John Gergory in the preface to his works has this passage. I was (sayes he) asked once by an able and understanding Man whether the Alcoran as it is of its self had so much in it as to work anything upon a rational belief? I said yes. Thus much only I required, that the believer should be brought up first under the engagement of that book. That which is everywhere called Religion hath more of interest and the strong impressions of education, then perhaps we consider of; otherwise for the book its self, it is taken for the greater part out of our Scripture, and would not appear altogether so ill if it were looked upon in its own Text, or through a good translation.

We see this learned Man had not so ill an opinion of the Alcoran, and we shall likewise find upon examination that those who have most diligently perused that and the other books of the Mahometans, have abated much of the general prejudices of the Christians against that Religion and its Author: and entertained more favourable thoughts of both, then others whose aversion is kept up by their ignorance. If we look upon the Alcoran with the same indifferency as upon any other book, we shall find that it hath this advantage over the Christian Bible, that being a Poem there is a greater liberty allowed to fictions, Parables, Allegories, and figurative Expressions then is allowed of in Prose; also defects in Chronology and Errors in History are here tolerable, tho' I believe most of those we call so Mahomet grounded upon the ancient Accounts in the Books of the Arabians or the general Traditions among them, and upon the Apocryphal books of the Jews and heretical Christians (as in many cases it is evident), which being respectively received as Authentic by those of the several Religions and the people prepossessed with them, to have disented therefrom would have been prejudicial to his Aims, the universal Credit of the errors being likely to overbear the real truth of things. Many of the mistakes and incoherencies therein might be voluntary, because it was a received Tradition among the Jews and Judaising Christians, and is now made use of as an

suppressed all the spurious Copies, which either the ignorance or malice of men had diffused, and ordered all for the future to be transcribe from the Copy of Hapsa. It is written in Arabic Verse, and is not one continued poem, but a collection of sundry Surats or Poems which Mahomet published occasionally: the Language, the Stile, the Numbers are all so exquisite and inimitable, that Mahomet himself doth frequently urge this as the grand authentic Testimony of his Apostleship, that the Alcoran doth surpass all human wit and Fancy, and offered to be accounted an Impostor if any man could but write ten verses equal to any therein. The Mahometans esteem each line of it as an intire Miracle, and say if the Miracles are the credentials of a Prophet and proofs of his mission, that Mahomet brought three thousand demonstrations of his legislative power, that other Miracles (being performed but once and in the sight of a few) lose much of their Evidence and certainty when they are comunicated to posterity, who are forced to rely upon the integrity and understanding of those from whom they receive the Relations of them or by whom they are attested; but God by Mahomet took a better course in leaving to Mankind one lasting Miracle, the thruth whereof should in all Ages bee satisfactory and convincing. Thus say Beidavi & Ahmed Ben Edris. Alguazel tells us to this purpose, that the Coran is a transcendent Miracle, and, which is more, one that is permanent from generation to generation; nor is there any lasting Miracle of the Prophet, excepting that whereunto he appealed, challenging all the wits of Arabia, which place did then abound with thousands whose chief study was Eloquence and Poetry, to make so much as one chapter that might compare therewith, and thereby demonstrated to the most incredulous the truth of his Prophesy. In the Alcoran it is said that if Men and Angels should combine to write anything like it, they should fail in their Enterprise.

The truth is, I do not find any understanidng Author who controverts the Elegancy of the Alcoran, it being generally esteemed as the Standard of the Arabic Language and Eloquence; but they raise great exceptions against it for

CHAPTER-IX

CONCERNING THE ALCORAN & MIRACLES OF MAHOMET, THE PROPHESIES CONCERNING HIM & A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS RELIGION AND POLICY

Having in the preceding Chapter exposed and confuted several of the Errors and falsities publish'd by the Christians concerning Mahomet and his Religion, which, 'altho' equally false and ridiculous, were greedily swallowed by the fond credulity of those Ages and handed down as authentic without being in the lest questioned till within these last hundred years, I shall now proceed to give an Account as different from theirs as truth from falsehood, of several matters to which these stories of theirs relate, whereby the ignorance and malice of those detractors will be still more apparent, and the confutations of them further strengthened.

As to the Alcoran, I have already shew'd that it was not all written at one time, but by parcells and upon several Occasions, and it was no small hindrance to his progress that for want of paper or other convenient matter, the Prophet was forced to write the scattered Surats at first upon the shoulder bones of sheep and other cattle, from which occasion, perhaps, some Surats received their appellation as that of the Cow. It was never reduced into one Volume by Mahomet, but by the care of Abubecr, his immediate successor, who after the death of the Prophet made a collection of all that had been scatteredly written by him upon the bones or skins of animals, or leaves of Palms, or preserved in the memory of his Auditors, and deposited this intire Copy with Hapsa (Hafsa), the daughter of Omar, and wife of Mahomet. After this, Osman or Othman, the third successor of the Prophet,

bigotted were they as to this point, that not only the Saracens, but the Turks till of late, would not receive as current any Christian money with an Effigies stamped thereon, and they universally demolish all pictures and images where they conquer. It must be avowed, after all, that they adore no other then the true God, and if they err it is rather in the manner then in the object of their Devotion; so that the Emperor Manuel Comnenus seems (in the judgment of Dr. Pocock) to have good reason to have altered the form of abjuration which was imposed on the converted Saracens (viz. I do anathematise the God of Mahomet) into another kind of Renunciation.

As for the τ.ετ.αΦα and πμαρπα or τ.αΦα, mentioned also as Idols of the Mahometans by the said Euthymius Zygabenus, they are nothing else but the Safa and Marwa of the Mahometans, between which they run in their pilgrimages at Meccha; and are said to be two Stones, into which a man and a woman were metamorphosed for comitting Adultery together in the Caab, nor are they the objects of any Mahometan devotion, as I have shewed.

But it is most pleasant to read how Euthymius doth further aggravate the Idolatry of the Saracens. "Ibiden esse illis ait, . . . simulacrum Bacca Ismakech dictum quod ipse Mohammedes adoramen observationis appellat et ut miseri Barberi adorent precepit." The original of this barbarous Idol, or rather mistake, was, that in the Alcoran there is once found the word Bebecca, which Beidavi, the Arabian Comentator, expounds in Mecca, there being a Metathesis of B. for M., and this Bacca Ismaceth, if it be pronouned according to the Arabian manner, signifies no more then Bacca or Becca, and is the same with Mecca or Macca, & this Meccha, call'd by Euthymius Bacca Ismaketh, is to be interpreted Adoramen observation is, the place towards which the Mohometans pray (or their Keblah).

Do not such Writers as these (and such were all the Christians that writ of Mahomet, as well Greeks as Latins) deserve much Credit? Can we blame the Mahometans who despise the foolish Relations our Authors give of their Prophet and Religion? Certainly no people are more remote from Idolatry then the Saraçens, and whatever name you give to their errors and follies!""Maimonides, who was Scholar to Averroes, and travelled thro' Arabia & Egypt, and Dr. Pocock will tell you they ought not to be thus stigmatised. That they were once Idolaters, and, until the dayes of Heracluis, did worship the Star Venus by the name of Cabar, or the great Goddess, is yeilded; but Mahomet put an end to all such Idolatrous worship, and the Rites which he retained are continued to a different intention then they were first practised upon. So averse are they from Idolatry, and even from all images and pictures, that they stamp not any Effigies upon their Coins, but only some pious sentence; and so

it hath as Euthymius Zygabenus (the Saracen Catechism), Cedrenus, &c., is absolutely false, and rejected as such by Selden, Pocock, Hottinger, and others. This exclamation among the Mahometans being no other then their usual Doxology of Allah, Ekbar allah! Or Allah, Allah, Howa Cobar Allah! (god, God, the great God!) No less false is the report that they worship venus under the Stone called Bracthan, in which Stone they pretend you may see, if you look exactly, the linaments of that Goddess pourtraid, tho' Euthymius Zygabenus relates this, and the Saracens in their Catechism are taught to anathematise the Worship of it. Yet it is a great untruth, for this stone is no other then the Black Stone which I have already given an Account of, and which they do not worship at all, but kiss devoutly as a relick of paradise, or for some other reasons alledged by them. It may perhaps have been adored by the old Arabians, but not by Mahomet or his Sect, nor was it by them called Bracthan. Our Linguists are in as great a perplexity to divine whence the Christians received this appellation (except it be because they kiss it, *Tabaracan behi boni Ominis seu Benedictionis captandi gratia*), as they are to find them place the stone Bracthan on the ground in the middle of the Caab, which is really raised two Cubits from the ground and fixed in the Wall, and is a plain Stone having no effigies in it; that which carries the shew of any sculpture in it, is the other stone, (not in the middle of the Caab, but in the midst of the Court or Almesjad Al haram), and retaineth the impressions of Abraham's feet, not the face of Venus. *Quod a Damasceno & Euthymio asseritur, siquis accuratius inspectet videri in eo figuram capitis scalpro expressam quod Veneris esse volunt ex Arabum scriptis probari posse non puto; alius illis lapis est sacer cui insculptam vel potius impressam tradunt figuram, sed tantum a figura capitis quantum caput a pedibus distantem (nisi Oculi superstitione lippi caput a pedibus distinguere nesciant). In quo vestigia pedum Abrahami impressa cum vel illis inter aedificandum Caabam insisteret (ut innuit Abulfeda); vel dum ipsi caput Ismaelis, quem visum venerat uxor (ut Ahmed Ebn Yusef & Saiffiodinus lavaret) unde & illi Nomen Makam Ibrahim locus (scilicet) Abrahami vel quo stetit Abrahamus.*

wretch was forthwith buried under a shower of stones and effectually prevented from discovering the trick. The Authors of this story whould have done very well if they had acquainted us how the publick came to know the circumstances of this story as they relate it.

They tell us that Mahomet should promise his followers to revive again in three dayes or some such time, and that they expected his Return there so long till his Carcas grew noisom; and that they still expect his return, that his body is inclosed in an iron Tomb and hangs in the Air, suspended by the force of two opposite Loadstones. Others tell us that his body is not in the tomb, but being deserted when it stunk, it was eaten up by dogs, and that they put the bones only into the Tomb. But these are such figments as the Mahometans laugh at, and deride the Christains for relating them. Doctor Pocock refutes them more then once. I will repeat his words, delievered in his Speech at Oxford, where he excites his Scholars to study Arabick: *Historia quibus Curae est ut Arabum monumenta diligientuius evolverent quam persuasum cuperm, ut ita tollerentur tot ineptae quas ignorantia istius Linguae Nobis obtriusit Fabulac. Ita fieret ut non ultra Mahometis Tumulum in Aere-pendulum somniaremu, nec falsum illius de Redditu promissum urgentes Asseclis ipsius quos absurde haec credere dicimus, absurditatem nostram deridendam propinaremus; falsosque illis errores impingendo, veris refutendis ineptos Nosmet redderemus nec amplius illos Saracenorum appellatione a Sara se oriundos jactare nugaremur. Hujusmodi sexcenta sunt quibus occurri sine linguarum studio non potest.* This last passage of Doctor Pocock's puts me in mind of some other forgeris with which the Christians did formerly asperse the Mahometans, and proceeded so far as to oblige the Saracenical Converts to pronounce Anathemas in their Catechisms against such practises as were never used by the Musulmin.

They pretended that the Mahometans worshipped the morning Starr and Venus by the Name Cabar or Cubar, these words which they cried in honour thereto signifying in Arabic the great Goddess; which assertion, how great Authors soever

into his sight, which imediately rushed through the croud to the Prophet and presented him with the Alcoran, which he received with much ostentation of Piety as sent to him from God, and read some of it to the Arabians there, and at the same time a pidgeon came and brought a Schedule in which was written, He shall be King of the Rabians who yoketh this Bull. Whereupon Sergious, the Nestorian Monk, brought him a Yoak, which he easily put on the neck of the Bull, and was thereupon saluted as King, and the Alcoran received as being of divine Authority. With such stories as these have the Christians represented him to be the vilest Impostor in the World, and transformed the Wisest Legislator that ever was, into a simple cheat; but neither was the Alcoran written all at one time, as I have already shew'd, nor ever reduced into one Volume intirely by him, but by Abubecr and Osman, nor is there any mention of this Miracle of the Bull in the Saracen records when they speak of the wonders of the Prophet.

As little credit is there to be given to that other fable that Mahomet should promise the people of Meccha (they demanding a Miracle) that he would cause a mountain to remove to him at his Summons, which not obeying his call, he briskly said if the Mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the Mountain. Were ever greater fopperies imagined? See, then, the simplicity of the Christians who were deluded, and thought to delude, with such foolish stories as these Yet in the Legends of their own Saints there are such Tales that one will not admire if they made no better Romances of their Enemies.

I am weary of turning over such rubbish as this, yet I shall give two or three stories more. Some of them tell us that Mahomet ordered one of his domesticks to go down into the bottom of a well by the Highway, and as Mahomet went by with a great train of followers after him, to cry out: Mahomet is the well beloved of God! Mahomet is the well beloved of God ! Which order being executed, Mahomet imediately thank'd God for so publick a testimony of his Love, and ordered the people to fill up the well with stones and build a little Mosque over the place in Memory of the Miracle, by which means the poor

converse with or insplire him. I will not ask whether it be possible to breed a Pigeon to that work so as that it should be kept or fed invisibly? (for otherwise it would have bred a suspicion in his followers and watchfull Enemies), or do the feat without prejudice to the drum of the Ear, or without discovering what it swallowed, or what it sought after, nor whether Mahomet did own the Holy Ghost any more then the Arrians and Judaizing Christians did? But I would be informed what ground there is for this fable, seing neither Mahomet nor his followers speak of any such apparition of a Pigeon, nor doth any Christian of the Arabians, meniton, it. Grotius, indeed, speaks of it; and Dr. Pocock thereupon consulted him, desiring to know what grounds he had for such a relation? The Reply was that he did not therein follow any Narration of the Mahometans, or Arabian Christians, but of the European Christians, and perticulerly of Scaliger in his notes upon Manilius where this is reported, and this is all that can be said for the Story. It is to no purpose to say that the Mahometans have ever since preserved a veneration or extraordinary respect for pidgeons, since they give another reason for this, say it is becuae the Prophet Noah pronounced a blessing upon the pigeon, and said she should be for ever beloved and regarded by men for returning to the Ark with an Olive branch, whilst the Raven staid to prey upon the dead bodies which appeared after the retiring of the waters.

I am apt to beleive this story of the pigeon was by some ignorant Person transferred from Athanasius to Mahomet, for it is reported concerning that Father how a Pidgeon in the street flew to him and setled on his shoulder by his Ear. This the Trinitarians interpreted as a Mircale, but the Arrians as magical; and, indeed, in the Legend of Saint George, I find Athanasius reputed to be a Magician.

Another fable of the Christians concerning Mahmoet is that he privately bred up a Bull which was constantly fed out of his hand, and thereby accustomed to run to him as soon as he came in his sight, that one day he fastened the Alcoran to the horns of this Bull, and as he was discoursing to the people concerning his new Religion & Laws, this Bull was contrived

demonstrable then it is that he could not write or read the Arabic Characters: for whoever considers his prudent Conduct in all his Actions, whereby he raised himself from the Condition of a private person to the Dignity and power of an absolute Prince, and was yet (which is uncomon in such cases) resepected more then feared and had a chearful obedience paid to his Dictates, or whoever will reflect upon the wisdom of his Laws and constitutions, the observance whereof gave his followers so considerable a figure in the World. I say, whoever considers either of these will not doubt but that Mahomet had a Capacity sufficient to understand whatever he applied himself to; and since he spent so long time in projecting the scheme of his religion and civil Government, there is no room to question but he qualified himself with all that could be necessary and useful to him.

Were this all they had to say against him it would not bee much to his disadvantage, for God has sometimes chosen the foolish things of the World to confound the Wise; and his natural incapacity and implied a supernatural divine Assistance and inspiration. But not content to chronicle him for an Idiot, they charge him with the vilest Impostures, without considering how incompatible these calumnies are one with the other. They tell us he was troubled with the falling sickness, and took advantage from thence to pretend to raptures, that upon his recovery out of those paroxysms he used to repeat the Bismillah. –In the name of God, merciful and gracious, and published the Surats of the Alcoran. I have already refuted this Story, it not being mentioned among the Arabians, nor do they magnify their Prophet for any such extatic Raptures. I add that the Alcoran was not given out in that manner, but each Surat was penn'd according to Perticuler emergencies, and it would have been an important peice of Inteligence for the Christians to have published the way of contriving Epileptic fitts according to his occasions and deferring them at other times.

No less vain is the Story of Mahomet's Pigeon, which used to eat peas out of his ear, and therefore as a representation of the Holy Ghost would resort to his shoulder, and seem to

that he must be as ignorant as they? Is not the saying verified if it appears that he was of their Linage and Countrey? Secondly, what necessity is there that every one that was born and lived in Meccha should be illiterate? May there not be an Anacharsys in Scythia? Must the seven Sages be as ignorant as the residue of Greece? Must not Ezra be able to read because the people could not? (Nehem viii. 8). As to his being stiled Nabian Ommian, tho' that title be generally given him by the Arabians, yet they do not agree upon the meaning thereof, some of them saying that it was not by reason of his ignorance, but of his being born at Meccha, which is termed Ommal Coras, or the Mother city, or, which is more probable, the Prophet of the house of Ommia, which family reigned over the Saracens for many generations. And, indeed, how can they call him the ignorant Prophet, since they beleive he knew all things, which is acknowledged by Doctor Pocock? The same Doctor acknowledges that one Warakah, A kinsman (or, according to Abunazar, uncle to Chadijah), taught him to write Hebrew, in which the Arabic language may be as well pen'd, and which was then newly propagated at Meccha by one that had married the sister of Abusofian, some years before Mahomet proclaimed his Apostleship; and who will imagine that a man so subtile, & who had formed so vast a designe, would omitt the learning of a thing so important to his Ends and so subservient to the promulgation of his Doctrine as the writing of Arabic was? I add that since Osman and Ali and several others of his followers could write and were his Scribes & Secretaries, why should we think it impossible or improbable that Mahomet could do as much? It is further observable that in all this Controversy as it managed, the question is only whether Mahomet could write and read the Arabic Characters newly introduced there? And not whether he were sufficiently learned to understand the Religion and Rites, Customs and Histories, of his Countrey, the Religion and learning of the Jews, and of the several Sects of Christians? Of this there can be no questions among such as are accquainted with the Alcoran and his Constitutions, which are such as demonstrate a profound insight into these matters, and a knowledge of many minute particularities, so that I can not see any just ground to conclude him illiterate, tho' it were more

met with thirty of the descendants of this Elmunin or orthodox person, who were retired into an Hermitage, and that they owned his Doctrine and profess'd Moslemism.

This that I have said I hope is sufficient to evince that the Religion of Mahomet is cheifly founded on the Doctrines of the Nazarene Christians and the Arrians, yet I do not believe that any of them had any hand in the penning of the Alcoran, for it was not composed (as they misinform us) in a desert before he began his Apostleship, but occasionally published upon several Emergencies, most at Medina, where, having so many Eyes upon him, he could not have had any such Assistance in any private manner but it would have given suspicion and umbrage in that City amongst his followers and so near confidents and secretaires as he there retained about him; or had the pretended Sergius and Abdalla appeared publicly, their names had certainly been recorded by the Mahometans amongst the principal Doctors of their Law and Propagators of their Religion.

Tho' I have cleared the matter thus far and taken away all probability from the story of the Jews and the Nestorian Monk, yet I must endeavour to set aside the objections raised against Mahomet for his Ignorance; for if he was so ignorant as they represent him, he must have been only a tool in 'the hands of others and had been uncapable of composing his Coran or performing what he did, so that notwithstanding they might be mistaken in the Names of his Governours or Instructors, yet the fact must of necessity be true.

They say his Ignorance is acknowledged by himself in his Alcoran where he brings in God saying that he had sent to the ignorant a Prophet from amongst them, that is, to illiterate persons an illiterate Prophet. That the Inhabitants of Meccha were so illiterate at that time, that they could neither write nor read, so that it seems sufficient of its self to prove him illiterate when it is confessed he was born there. In fine, that he is generally acknowledged by the Arabians to be Nabian Ommian, that is, the illiterate Prophet. But none of these Arguments are of any validity, for, first, tho' God should say that he had sent to the ignorant a Prophet from among them, doth it therefore follow

prevails and prospers. Of all the persecuted Sects, the Judaizing Christians were the most tenacious of their Customs and traditions, and by a series of persecution from their first conversion to the dayes of Mahomet, and by the Principles of their Christianity which was conformable to the self-denying doctrine of Isa, and the discipline of the Essenes, their examplary piety and innocent Lives was such as might win much uipon the melancholy temper and suspicious humour of the Arabians. They were diffused from Pella in Judea to Chochab in the confines of Arabia towards Syria, and so on to Yaman or Arabia felix and Mesopotamia. As Mahomet seems to have been a great Honourer of Isa, so he alwaies express'd a great Reverence for them, and 'tis concering them that he sayes that Isa their Prophet shall save them in the last day; but as to the Trinitarians, that is those Christians who advance Christ and the Holy Ghost or Virgin Mary into the Diety, whom Mahomet calls Almushrikuna or Associators, these he universally judgeth to Hell fire in his Alcoran, as well for their Tenets as wicked Lives. That the Arabian Christians were men of just and strict deportment appears from hence, that Mahomet saith of them that one might safely intrust them with any sum of money, and they would restore it again, but the Jews were such Vilains that no man could trust them with a penny.

As for the Arrians it is manifest that the Saracens have allwaies retained a veneration for their St. George, Bishop of Alexandria, whom yet they do not allow for a Prophet, but one of their Saints or Fathers, and his Life is written by Kesseus, a Mahometan, as if he were such. And Ahmed ben Edris, passing over the Nestorians as a foolish sort of Christian Hereticks, brings in a fable concerning Paul, as if he had deluded the world into an opinion of the Deity of Isa, and given a beginning to the Heresy of Eutychius and the Jacobites. And that an Arrian or else a Judaising Christian whom he calls an Elmunin (Al Momin), or true beleiver, did anathematise Paul thereupon, saying, We were the Companions of Isa; we saw him; we are descended from him; he was the servant and Apostle of God; he never told us otherwise. And the same Author, further tells us that Mahomet

such a Sergius, a Nestorian, why did not Mahomet adhere to Nestorianism, and teach that Isa was true God and true Man under a double personality? Why did he not mention Nestorius and Theodorus Mopsuestensis or Diodorus Tarsoris as holy Men or Saints, and condemn Cyril of Alexandria. Neither he nor any of his followers have don this as I know of. In all their Religion we find nothing of the Nestorianism, which would have happened had this pretended Monk been the framer and compiler of it, the liquor would have had the flavour of the Cask. Nor would Mahomet have declined to cajole so great an Interest as the Nestorians then were, being so strengthened by the Decree of Cosroes, and so extended that even the Christians of Saint Thomas in India are of that profession.

On the other hand, had a Jew been his Instructor, he would not have been, as he undoubtedly was, so great an admirer of Isa, of which he makes so great and frequent Declarations, saying that Isa was his predecessor, and taught the same Doctrine, that it is but justice to stile him a Christian. Nor do I beleive that he did cajole or Love the Jews at all, and consequently would not form his Alcoran so as to please them. I beleive it was out of hatred to the Jews that he altered the Keblah from Jerusalem to the Caab, and it is recorded that he so detested them that albeit out of complaisance to the Coreischites he had retain'd the Fast of Ashura on the tenth day of the Month Moharam; had he lived but one year longer he would out of hatred to the Jews have altered the observance thereof to the ninth day of the same Month.

Let us not then give credit to the aforesaid Stories, but ascribe another original to the Mahometical Doctrines. For my part I believe that he was a convert to the Judaizing Christians and formed his Religion as far as possible in resemblance of theirs.

I have already shewn that Arabia was the comon refuge and receptacle for the persecuted Jews and Christians of all sorts and Sects, and we find that persecution works this Effect upon all Religions, that such as then continue firm and constant are more pious and devout then at other times, the looser and more vicious either for ease or interest professing that Religion which

Mahometans, that Mahomet was descended of the Principal Tribe of the Arabians both by his Father and Mother, as I have represented it. Notwithstanding which these faithful Authors, how dissonant soever in other things, unanimously agree (tho' very falsely) that he was of a mean vulgar Race and poor parentage, and that his Father was a Heathen and his Mother a Jewess. 'Tis certain that the Christians which lived under the Mahometans (as Elmacin and other) do mention Mahomet with great respect as Mahomet of glorious Memory, and *Mahumetes super quo pax* and *Benedictio*, &c., whereas others have proceeded so far as to say that he was even Antechrist, and have found out the Number of the beast 666 in his name, writing it Μαομετις, then which nothing can be more ridiculous. Is it not mere folly to spell a Man's name wrong, and then imagine misteries in it? Some of the Greeks write his name Μαχπμεδ, others Μαγμεδ; the Latin Machumet, Machomet, Magmed, and Maomethes; in Arabick, if rightly pronounced, it is Muhammed or Mohammed, which signifies "much desired." I find that his Father's name was Abdalla, who dying, he was educated by his Grandfather Abdol-Mutlib, and upon his decease by his Uncle Abutaleb; that he travelled twice to Jerusalem, besides his expeditions into Egypt, Affrick, and Spain; that he conversed with the Christians of all sects, and it appears that he understood very well all their Tenets, and the most solid foundations which they went upon. Nor was he less acquainted with the Jewish Principles and Talmudical Learning, as is also manifest by his Alcoran. The State of Arabia being divided into Jews, Judaizing Christians (who had a settlement at Chocab), Judaizing Arabians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Arrians, Trinitarians, Manichees, Montanists, Sabaens, and Idolaters, gave him occasion and opportunity to examine and try all Sects and Sorts of Religions; but the Christians, not considering this, have given him two Assistants, one Abdalla, a Jew, and Sergius, a Nestorian Monk, and represent Mahomet himself as an ignorant fellow who could not Judge of what they instill'd into him, which is the reason of such gross Errors in his Alcoran. But I cannot find any Abdalla besides his Father, who was not a Jew but a Coreischite, nor any Tutor or Companion of his called Sergious; but if there were

himself to mind any such thing. In fine such was his whole deportment, and his natural freedom was so tempered with a befitting reservedness as instructed others not to importune him with unbecoming proposals, but never suffered any to understand what it was to be denied. Besides all these embellishments and qualifications, he had a great Strength and Agility of body, an indefatigable Industry and an undaunted Courage such as never forsook him in the greatest Dangers. He was a most expert Horseman, and loved to ride the highest mettled and most warlike Horses, and since the most minute Actions of great Men are remarkable, and oftentimes are presages of future accidents, I shall here relate one. He being once mounted on a brave but unruly horse, his friends desired him to forsake his back, which he refused, adding, that it became the timerous and effeminate to have their horses exactly managed for them, but that a true Arab could not be surprised with the untractableness of his horse which added to his pleasure, as a storm delights an intelligent Pilot, since it gives him an occasion of discovering his Skill, and rewards the danger and trouble by an accession of Honour.

Thus was he furnish'd with all the qualifications requisite in a person cut out for great Atcheivements and equally qualified for Actions of Warr, or the Arts of Peace and civil Government, which notwithstanding the Calumnies charged upon him by the Christians, will be evident to any one that will attentively consider the foregoing accounts of his Life and Actions, which I have extracted out of the best Arabians and others, but have justly rejected a great deal of fabulous, ridiculous trash, with which most of the Christian Narratives of him are stuffed. If you give yourself the trouble of perusing the Christian writers who have given an Account of Mahomet, you will find as little integrity in them as in those I have noted before (excepting some within this last Century, since the late improvement in the Oriental Learning), so that the dissolute Christians of those Ages published as great untruths in their times as they who had passed for Saints. It is now acknowledged by all the learned, after a servere enquiry into the Arabian writers, as well Christians as

CHAPTER-VIII

THE CHARACTER OF MAHOMET, AND FABULOUS INVENTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS CONCERNING HIM & HIS RELIGION

I doubt not but by this time your curiosity will prompt you to enquire after the pourtraiture of this extraordinary person. His great Soul was lodged in a body of a middle size, he had a large head, a brown complexion but fresh colour, a beard long and thick but not grey, a grave aspect wherein the awfulness of Majesty seem'd to be tempered with admirable sweetness, which at once imprinted in the beholders respect, reverence, and Love. His eyes were quick and sparkling, his limbs exactly turn'd, his Mein was great and noble, his Motion free and easy, and every Action of his had a grace so peculiar that it was impossible to see him with indifference. The Arabians compare him to the purest streams of some River gently gliding along which arrest and delight the Eyes of every approaching passenger. Nothing was more mild and gentle than his speech, nothing more courteous and obliging then his Carriage; he could dextrously accommodate himself to all Ages, Humours, and Degrees. He knew how to pay his submissions to the great without servility, and to be complacent to the meaner sort without abasing himself. He had a ready Wit, a penetrating Judgement, and such an Elocution as no Arabian before or since hath ever equalled; when he pleased he could be facetious without prejudice to his grandeur. He perfectly understood the Art of placing his favours aright; he could distinguish betwixt the deserts, the inclinations, and the interests of Men; he could penetrate into their Genious' and intentions without employing vulgar Espials or seeming

then Egypt, then Affrick and Spain; and within about fourscore years after his first appearance you may read how his Moslemin were possesst of all those Countries, and as much more on the side of Persia and Indostan, and which would seem incredible were it not universally agreed to, within twenty years after his first rise (A. D. 642). You read of nothing but of vast Armies of the Greeks being beaten; Damascus, Jerusalem, and Antioch taken; Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Judea, and Persia, subdued, and 1700 Sail of the Saracens' Ships covering the Seas, and terrifying Constantionople, Cyprus, and Rhodes. For discipline the Spartans or old Romans never equal'd them; for courage and martial exercise nothing ever exceeded them. Their zeal for their Religion set an edge upon their swords which rendred their force irresistable, and gave that incredible progress to their Arms, that their Empire did not rise by slow degrees; but as soon as their Sun was above the Horison it was in its Meridian, and when it will decline no man knows.

under his bed, he having formerly told them that the Prophets were constantly buried in the place where they died. There is a stately Temple since built by the Mahometans upon the place, and richly adorn'd within and without. There is in this Temple a Chapell with a roof contrived by an extraordinary Architect. Withın the Chapell is a tombstone called Hayar Monaner (Hajar Munav-ver), or the Bright Stone, said to have apperteyned to Ayesha, the wife of Mahomet, and within that is lodged the Body of the Prophet; nor ıs the Tomb suspended in the Air by Loadstones or any other contrivance, but is placed on the floor and hung about with rich Hangings of Silk and Gold, and environed with rails of iron sumptuously gilded. The Mahometans make pilgrimages to it aș to the Caab, the Prophet having promised happiness to such as do this. They cannot approach the Tomb, but devoutly kiss the bars inclosing it.

Thus dyed this extraordinary person. He was forty years of Age when he first begun the Apostleship at Meccha. Thirteen years he continued there, and above ten years of the Hegira were past when he died. He married Chadijah at the age of twenty-five years, and had issue by her VII children, who all dyed in the lıfetime of their father, except Fatyma, who was married to Aly. During the time that Chadija lived (which was above 24 years after) he married no other wife, perhaps out of gratitude to the raiser of his fortunes; but after her death he married severall others, amongst which Ayesha, the daughter of Abubecr, had the greatest share in his Affection.

How far he carried his conquests in his lifetime is uncertain. Some say he subdued not only the three Arabias, but Egypt, Antioch, Syria, Armenia, and all Palestine (except Jerusalem); that he vanquished the Emperor Heraclius in a set bettle, killing 15,ooo of his Men. Others, that he only secured himself of Arabia and part of Mesopotamia and Gaza, together with the passages of Mount Sinai, and some would even subject Affrick to him. But this is certain, that according as he by his travels had inform'd hımself of the weakest parts of Christendom, he directed his successors to trace their steps with their Victorious Armies, which they did; first subduing Palestine,

sickness, that the morsell which he ate at Chaibar still molested his stomache, and when the mother of Bashar made him a visit as he was dying, the Prophet said to her, "O Mother of Bashar, I now feel my heartstrings break by the poison I swallowed with your Son at Chaibar." After having been confined to his bed thirteen dayes, he dyed in the Climacterical year of his age, being sixty-three years old according to the best Accounts. As Authors differ about his age, so they disagree about the day of his death, which some say was the same with his birthday, and is generally allowed to be about that time.

When the Prophet lay upon his death-bed he call'd for a pen and ink, and told them he was very sensible how the Coran was written, and lest they might fall into errors and mistakes after his decease, he purposed to write a treatise to preserve them from the danger of such an Inconvenience. But Omar and some others being by, and being apprehensive that the Prophet was become delirious and frantic with his feavour, they forbad any to bring him pen and ink, and so he dyed leaving no such Surat.

No sooner was he dead and the report thereof spread abroad in the City, but the Multitude flocked about his house, crying, Do not bury the Apostle of God; he is not dead; how could he dye who is to witness for us to God? No, it cannot be; he is but withdrawn aside as Isa was, and will return again, as he did to his disciples when they thought him dead. With these did Omar joyn, who, drawing his sword, said, If any one dares averr that Mahomet is dead, I will him kill presently. He is not dead, but only conveyed away for a time as Isa was, or rather as Moses the son of Amran was when the people missed him forty dayes. But Abubecr wisely composed the Tumult, shewing out of the Alcoran that it behoved Mahomet to dye as well as the other Prophets, adding, if any purposed to worship, the Prophet was certainly dead, but the God of Mahomet was the living God. There arose a further contest about the place where the Prophet shouuld be buried. Some would have it at Jerusalem, where most of the Prophets were buried. Others said at Meccha; but the Inhabitants of Medina prevailed to have him buried there. So they buried him in his own house in the chamber of Ayesha,

discipline, or to show the Arabians that neither his victories nor Power had altered him, that he designed no Monarchy, but only to conserve the repute of being the Apostle of God. Yet, by despising the trappings of Empire, he did not at all abandon or lessen his Dignity, nor the real exercise of his power, but only the show and appearance thereof. But the presence of Mahomet might at this time be more perticularly necessary at Medina, to keep those countries which bordered upon Yaman in obedience, for not only Moseleima had formed a considerable party thereabout, but in the eleventh year of the Hegira one Aswad Absites declared himself a Prophet in several Provinces & Cities of Arabia felix, and had become very formidable; but a Musulman call'd Firus of Dailan kill'd him in his own house, and put an end to those troubles. These little insurrections could not create much trouble to the Prophet, who was now possessed of the Caab, and had at his Devotion a very good Army well comanded and a rich Exchequer; so that doubtless had he lived longer, he had not only quell'd these small disturbances, but in his own time had vastly spread his conquests and Religion. But the end of his Life drew on, so that he was obliged to leave the work to be finished by his successors, which he had so successfully begun and in which he had made so wonderful a progress, considering how much of his Life was spent before he made any open Attempts. Sometime after his return to Medina he was seized with a slow feavour which was Originally occasioned by pioson given to him to a shoulder of Mutton hashed, at the taking of Chaibar in the seventh year of Hedgira, by one Zeinab, a Young Maiden, the daughter of Alhareth, a Jew, who, being asked why she did so horrid an Action, briskly replied, because she thereby should either discovere him to be a true Prophet and Apostle of God, or free the Jews from the persecution of a Fierce Tyrant. No sooner had the Prophet tasted of the Mutton, but he said this shoulder of Mutton tells me that it is impoisoned; and Bashar, a Musalman, who did also eat of it, died presently. Mahomet lived above three years after it, and rendered great Testimonies of his ability of body as well as prowess, yet he frequently said, and perticularly in his last

Thus Mahomet perform'd the Pilgrimage and left an Example to his followers how to continue it. It was the policy of the Perophet not to reject all Rites that had been abused to Idolatry, lest by making a total change in the substance and ceremonies of their Devotion, he might provoke the Arabians to a Rebellion or introduce a general Irreligion among them. The casting of stones was an usual Rite in Honour of Mercury; to run with no other garment then a loose linen covering was a part of the worship of Chamosh. The other Ceremonies appertained to Baal-peor, which three had been the Deities of the Arabians. Nay, he continued the Pilgrimage upon the same day on which it has alwaies been performed, viz. On the tenth day of month Dulhagijah. Thus he retained Circumcision, which had alwaies been a National usage there. The fast of Ashura was of Ancient observance among the Coreischites. In like manner their washings and rites of Cleanliness were old usages which he confirmed. And I am confident I have read that the Fast Ramadan, which lasts a Month, was of a Original more ancient then Mahomet; at lest the Saby kept one of thirty dayes.

I meet with a perticular Reason, given by Ebnol Ethir, why Mahomet undertook this difficult and laborious pilgrimage, and that was to convince the Idolaters that his followers were as hardy and able of body as the other Arabians, and that neither the scorching heats of Medina, nor their strict diet and Discipline, had any way enfeebled them. For my part, I beleive that altho' Devotion might engage him to the pilgrimage, yet that he thought it also a prudent part to visit again those Dominions, and not to invite the Envious or Ambitious to create new disturbances by his being too long absent; and that he proposed by the solemnity of this Procession to manifest to the people of Meccha that the demolishing of the Idols had neither abated the Resort, Emoluments, or Honour of their City, which was now assured to be in a manner the Metropolis of all the Mahometan Countries.

Having performed the pilgrimage and instructed the Moslemin in all points of their Religion & Worship, the Prophet retires again to Medina, either to keep his men in their former

Camel sufficiently, he leads him to the Market-place, where the Daroga, or Judge of the Town, attended with other Officers, kills him with an Ax. As soon as the Camel is dead, all the Pilgrims endeavour to get a piece of his flesh, and throng so confusedly with knives in their hands that many Pilgrims are hurt and sometimes kill'd.

After this Ceremony the Prophet leads the Pilgrims to the Caab, at their first approach they with a great shout proclaim the Allah Ekbar, or God, God, the great God! And then the double testimony of la Illah Mahumed Resul Allah, the God, and Mahomet the Apostle. They went seven times round the precincts of the Caab, but with a variety of postures, and some difference of pace, for thrice they went a good round trot, and four times they walked gravely about it, agitating their bodies and shrugging their shoulders in a strange manner (but suich as was usual among the Arabians), this they specially did as they passed between the two stones of Safa and Meriah (Mervah), the sight whereof reminded them of the sacredness of the Caab and the Judgments of God against impiety and irreverence. After all this they came to the Hagiar Alasvad or Black Stone, which he told them was brought from Paradise, that it was then whiter then Snow or Milk, and changed its colour by reason of the sins of Men. Here the Prophet devoutly said his Prayers, kissed the Stone, and begg'd pardon for his sins, and asked for heavenly guidance and protection for the future, injoying all his followers for ever so to do. This Stone is advanced from the ground about seven handfulls or a Cubit and a half, being fixed in the wall, and under it every pilgrim did most submissively creep, weeping and deploring his sins and praying that he might arrive at Paradise. Then they went to the other Stone, whereon Abraham stood when the Caab was building. It Iyes in the middle of the Court of the Caab, inclosed with an iron grate, and into the prints of his feet (which are impressed in the Stone) they pour some water fetch'd from the pool Zamzam, and having said their Prayers, they drink it up. Thence they depart carrying home with them in a Vessel some of the Sacred Water of Zamzam.

after a perticular manner, for they are obliged to go at the rate of a trotting horse or rather of a Camel galloping, and that with such earnestness that they hardly take time to eat, drink, or sleep. In this manner the Illustrious Pilgrims continued their Procession from Medina till they arrived at Mount Arafat, which is half a day's Journey from Meccha, by the foot whereof lyes the ordinary road to that City. Here the Prophet related to his followers the Sacrafice of Ismael, adding that they must divert out of the way, as was usual of old in those pilgrimages, and fulfill a Comandment of Abraham's, to cast several stones in a certain place at the Divel, in imitation of their Fathers, Abraham and Ismael, and to drive him away that he might not instill any wickedness into them, or divert their thoughts from the pure Worship of God during the sacred pilgrimage, that tho' they seem'd only to cast stones in Akabah (the name of the place) yet indeed each stone did hit the Divel. That not only Abraham, Hagar, and Ismael had found this way to avenge thmselves on him, but also Adam, in the Valley of Mena, did pelt the Divel with stones, and put him to flight.

From hence Mahomet conducted them up to Mount arafat, to view the place where Ismael was to have been sacrificed, and here they spent that night in great Devotion. At the foot of Mount Arafat the people of Meccha had prepared a great number of White Rams, each of the Pilgrims bought one which they carried up and slew there (every man his own), in imitation and as a memorial of their Father Abraham. After each hath kill'd, and drest his oblations they cat a little thereof and give the rest to the poor (who flock thither in great number to receive Alms) without reserving so much as the skin, saying that neither did Abraham when he performed his Sacrafice. Towards the dawning of the day they come down, and go to the City of Meccha, where the High Preist or chief Imaum of the Caab makes a Procession, conducting throught the chief streets a Camel which is appointed for Sacrafice, the hair of the Camel they account a very precious Relick, so that the Pilgrims all throng as near as they can to the beast to snatch some of his hair, which they fasten to their Arms. After the Priest hath walked the

CHAPTER-VII

MAHOMET'S LAST PILGRIMAGE, HIS DEATH AND BURIAL

Instead of those vain Triumphs which used to swel the pride of Conquerors, till they thought themselves above the size of mortal Men, the Prophet arrogating nothing of his success to his own valour or Conduct, but acknowledging the assistance of Heaven in all his undertakings, he thought it his duty to render his thanks to God in the most publick manner possible. To this end, as also to testify his veneration to the Caab, and to leave example to the Arabians in what manner they should continue their pilgrimages of Devotion to Meccha, he prepares to leave Medina and to perform the pilgrimage in the company of 72,000 persons, men and women, which were gathered together to compleat the train of the Apostle. The Mahometans say thiat Noah when he went into the Ark took along with him seventy-two persons, and for that reason it is requisite the pilgrims of Meccha should amount to the number of 72,000, and that number ought to be so exactly observed, that more must not be received as such in any one year, but that number must be compleat; otherwise, they say, the angels would be obliged to make up what were wanting, and it were want of respect to those spirits to put them to that trouble. As you might sometimes have seen these Conquerors of Arabia imployed in making or mending their Cloths, cultivating Rice, picking of Oats, or selling perch'd peas, so now you will see them marching a long pilgrimage with a train of 72,000 perosn,s whose garb and postures would seem more suitable to madmen then those who were to give Laws to the Universe; they march continually and

Inhabitants of Yaman, beleiving that such as had much to lose would not hazard their Estates nor endure the hardships of War for a new Religion, or whether he thought that petty insurrections contribute to the establishment of an absolute soveraignty, despised this Imposter and did not concern himself to suppress him this year, nor the next, which was the last of his Life. And now having accompanied the Prophet thro' the hazards and toils of nine years Warrs, and seen him peaceably established in the Government of Arabia, his Enemies being everywhere subdued, I shall change the scene, and in the next Chapter describe the most glorius Procession that ever the World has seen, and afterwards with the death of Mahomet close that part of this Treatise which relates to the Hitory of his life and Actions.

This oracle gave new Life and Vigor to the Moslemin, and made them more punctual in their obedience to their Emir and Prophet. He resolved to fight Melic before the noise of this rout should be too far spread, well knowing that new Conquests are alwaies unsetled, that the minds of men quickly reduced to obedience are as soon lost, and since Prosperity was the foundation of his Apostleship, adversity would overthrouw it. His success was such in the second engagement that with the loss only of four Moslemin and the slaughter of 90 infidels he gained a compleat Victory, and made himself Master of all their riches, 6000 head of cattle, 24,000 Goats, 40,000 sheep, and 4000 ounces of silver, and their wives and children taken Prisoners. The Infidels yeilded themselves Tributaries and Vassals on condition to have their Wives restored, and Melic render'd himself to the Prophet and became a Musulman, whereupon Mahomet restored him to his possessions. In the ninth year of the Hegira, he had no great difficulties to encounter, the remaining Wars did rather exercise then endanger his Forces. His Followers became more fixed and endeared to him, and they who had embraced his Religion out of fear persisted in it out of Affection and Conscience. They no longer resented the destruction of their Idols, seeing that Success attended the followers of the great God: many that had been his obstinate Enemies became Converts, and the Princes of Dauma and Eila became his tributaries. He disarmed those which he suspected, and having his Forces in excellent Discipline under good and faithful Comanders and comitted the government of Meccha to one of his Confidents, he returned to Medina to visit his old friends and assistants.

In the tenth year of Hegira he received no tidings but such as confirm'd that daily growth and progress of Islamism. He received continual addresses and submissions from the new converts, and all Arabia seem'd at his Devotion, but that in Yaman there arose one Mosaleima who pretended to be his Associate and partner in the Apostleship, and found many followers. But Mahomet either out of an opinion of his own strength and power, or of the luxury and effeminacy of the

ascertained that the Idols were destroyed and the substance of the Arabian Religion changed, some shadows and circumstances only remaining, do now take Arms under one Melic, the son of Aufus. Their number was not formidable. Being but 4000 in all, but they were Arabians and animated with Zeal and Revenge. Mahomet was determined to act securely, and not to obscure the last Actions of his Life by Rashness or want of foresight. He drew forth an Army of 12,000. men, whereof 10,000 were veterans and the rest Captives of the Hawazines and people of Taiph, and prepared to encourmter them in the valley of Honain, Whether it were that fortune is seldom constant to her greatest Darlings, or that the Moslemin acted too securely, presuming upon their numbers, tried valour, and Discipline, so it happened that the Idolaters totally routed them and persued them to the Gates of Meccha, where the gallant Prophet, accompanied only by Abbas and Abusofian, made a stand, and leaning on his Javelin persuaded some of the Moslemin to rally, and by the appearance of a new charge to put an end to the furiouis Chase of the Idolaters. The Prophet must be own'd to have showed the highest courage and prdudence in being able to retain his Judgment and valour amidst so universal a consternation, Disorder, and Flight. The Idolaters either not having strenght enough to beseige the Town, or not knowing how to improve so unexpected an advantage, or being forced to it by the sterility of the Countrey want of water, withdrw their Forces, and by this Retreat gave Mahomet respite to infuse fresh resolution into his disheartened Troops. The Angel Gabrial presently brings him a Surat that no Enemy could be safely despised, nor any human strength presumed upon. That albeit Infidelity and Idolatry were things odious to God, yet Pride and presumption were also abominable to Him. That the Moslemin were puffed up with a conceit of their own strength, and that now God had defeated them to convince them of the necessity of His Aid and Blessing in all their undertakings. That if they would abandon the opinion of their own Worth and Puissance, he would repair their loss by sending an invisible Legion of Angels to fight in their behalf.

The Inhabitants imediately became Moslemin; but many of the Rulers and Cheifs who had been his Enemies, and either scorned to believe him or despaired of mercy tho they should do it, he put to death, it being inconsistent with the absoluteness of the Monarchy which he designed to permit a hereditary Nobility. The people thinking themselves happy in their own safety, did the less mourne for those which were slaughtered; and whilst their minds were set upon a peaceable enjoyment of their own, they did not think of remote consequences or revenging of others' suffereing; and thus whilst every one singly courted their Prophet and Emir, they introduced an universal Servitude.

And now we see Mahomet possessed of the Metropolis of Arabia the desert, his Enemies subdued, and his Armies victorious, yet doth not all this power and series of prosperous Attempts infuse into him new Pride or outward Grandeur whatsoever fortune hath put into his hands, only enables him to do more good, to bestow more Alms, and more to advance the glory of God. His Moslemin seem all to be animated with the same Spirit; nor do the inhabitants of Meccha find themselves governed by an Emperor and an Army, but by a Prophet. Thus we see it is not arbitrary Power, but the ostentation and abuse of it, that renders it odious and tyrannical. Whether it were the consummate Wisdom of Mahomet that continued him in this equable temper, or the sense of the mutablity of human Affairs in a Man who had tried such vicissitudes, or that old age had secured him from those sallies which indiscreet Youth is subject to, I know not. This prosperous Revolution had made no change for the worse in his demeanour, for within a few months after the destruction of the Idols in the Caab, there happen'd an insurrection which endangered his new Religion and Government, and would have dethroned any but the Prophet.

The Thakisy and Howazine Arabians, tho' they had not stirr'd in the behalf of Meccha and the Coreischites (whether it be that vulgar heads will not beleive things till they fall out, or that it was out of Jealousy lest they should run into a certain inconvenience of being subject to the Coreischites to avoid the uncertain apprehensions of Mahomet), when they were

composition the Capital City of Arabia. His Army hereupon inaugurate him solemnly (of their own accord without any solicitation of his) to be their Xeriff of Prince. He retires from Hadibia, and marches against severall little territories that had been in Arms against him, who being not included in the Cessation, and deserted by the Coreischites, were easily subdued, and forced to pay an annual Tribute of their Dates, and to hold their lands at the pleasure of the Conqueror, amongst which diverse Jews were subjected upon the same terms. In this Expedition Aly signalized himself at the battle of Chaibar, where he seized on the Gates of the town, and managed them on his Arm like a Target: this was the event of the seventh year.

In the eighth year the Coreischites finding the prejudice of this truce, and that whilst they stood neuters their Allies were destroy'd, renounced the Cessation, and thereby drew upon themselves the forces of Mahomet. He marcheth towards Meccha by easy Journies. When he drew near the City, the inhabitants were so generally dispirited that many of the great Men (being no less sensible then the Populace of their weakness) turned, some really and others out of fear, to the profession of Islamism. Abbas, Uncle of the Prophet, and his inveterate Enemy Abusofian were of that number: the first withdrw out of the Town to Mahomet, the other remained behind to render the Prophet more important services by his stay. Mahomet entred Meccha without any opposition, having first proclaimed that all who retired to the house of Abusofian, all who shut their doors and offered no injury to the Moslemin, and all who fled for refuge to the Caab, should be secure. His entry seem'd rather a Procession to the Caab then a Triumph. Aljannabus tells us that upon his approach to the Temple all the Idols (even the great Hobal) did prostrate themselves before him. He broke down the Images which were in and about the Caab; he himself broke in pieces the wooden pigeon which was there, and threw it away; and Aly, among the rest, being busied in demolishing the Idols, and not being able to reach one that stood aloft, the Prophet suffered him to stand upon his shoulders til it was don.

Naimas, of the tribe of Gatsan, a man of great power in the Army, by whose means those of Meccha and the Jews so quarel'd that they broke up their Army and departed without doing anything. Six of the Moslemin were slain in this expedition, and three of the Infidels, two of which were slain by Aly in single duel in view of both Camps, to the great encouragement of the Mahometans, and terrour of their Enemies, one of them being a very valiant Captain, and, as it were, the soul of their Army. The Reputation of Mahomett was much encreased by his having thus, without any loss or hazard, caused so powerful an Army to dislodge and dissolve; and more by the advantage he took in their retreat, for they being seperated Mahomet pursued a brigade of them, which he beseiged 25 dayes, and having reduced them, cut off the heads of 670 of the men. This happen'd in the fifth year of his stay at Medina.

In the sixth year he resolved not to wait the Enemies in his own Territories, but to carry the seat of the Warr into thie Countrey of the Coreischites; and having in his March gain'd several considerable Victories, and subdued several of the Arabian Tribes, sits down at Hadibia, a place near Meccha. As the Moslemin had their courages inflamed by their succession of Victories, and by the sight of the Caab, so, on the other, hand, the Inhabitants of Meccha were no less disconsolate to see the danger so near them, after so many fruitless expeditions, and being divided and distracted among themselves (as generally happens in such occasions) were in the utmost confusion; but the generous Prophet continuing in his Resolution of taking Meccha by the surrender rather then force, came to a Treaty with the Coreischites, which ended in a cessation of Arms for ten years to come. One clause of this agreement was that if Mahomet or any of his followers had a pious intention to visit the Caab, they might come without Arms and perform their Devotions: whereeby the Prophet gain'd many advantages. The inhabitants of Meccha being convinced of his strength were sensible of his generosity to them and his Devotion to the Caab, and he had that opportunity of sending in Emissaries under the pretence of devotion, as well as the glory of having faced and brought to

acted all the parts of a good Comander and a valiant soldier since he despaired of Conquest, determined to make good his Retreat to Medina, the neighbourhood whereof preserved him from any great damage that day. The Coreischites discovering him rallying his Men, and bravely fighting in the rear of his flying Forces, lent all their power to destroy him. Ochas, the son of Abumugid, wounded him in the lip with a Javelin, and strook out some of his foreteeth; Abdallah, the són of Sidhab, hurt him in the forehead, and he was also wounded in the Jaws, notwithstanding all which he escaped safe into Medina; and Abusofian, being distress'd for want of water and other necessaries, was obliged to withdraw his Army to Meccha.

A Man of less Resolution that Mahomet could hardly have preserved himself from sinking under the ignominy and misfortune of this discomfiture, but the Prophet was undaunted, and casting the blame upon the Jews, who had so unhappily diverted the Moslemin. In the following year, which was the fourth of his residence at Medina, to reanimate his vanquish'd Troops he sets upon the sons of Nadir (a tribe of Jewish Arabians), and having routed them pursues them into Syria, shewing the Countrey far and near his victorious Army when they thought him in a manner ruin'd.

All Arabia was alarmed at this last success; and the Jews and several other Nations confederating with the Coresichites against Mahomet, raised an Army of ten thousand men, which they sent out against him under the comand of Joseph, the brother of Abusofian. The Prophet mustered what forces he could from Medina, Agra, and Saraca, and determining not to be inclosed in any town, nor engage too near Medina, lest the vicinity of Refuge might make his Soldiers apt to provide for their safety by flight, he marched forward to encounter them; but finding a consternation in his Army, he declined the engagement, and put in practise a Stratagem which was then new in Arabia; he caused his Army to encamp, and entrenched himself so strongly that his Enemies did not dare to attack him. The two Armies lying near each other, Mahomet had an opportunity of gaining some of the Enemies to his party, and perticulerly one

was not to insinuate, but to come to an open rupture. He came to the Jews and pressed them to receive the comands of the Prophet, urging them with the Miracles of Mahomet, that being the most prevailing Argument with that Nation; yet they were not moved thereby. How confidently soever he reported them, they said they expected a Messias of their own, the Son of Daivd, whose Dominions should extend far and near; and as to the lending any sum of money to God, Phineas, the son of Ahuza, demanded if their God were so poor that he needed to take up money at interest. The insolence of this question so provoked Abubecr that he gave him a box on the ear, declaring withall that he would have slain him, but that the Prophet had given them a Charter of Security. He departed forthwith and acquainted Mahomet with their refusal, but mentioned not the words of Phineas, protesting he durst not repeat their blasphemies.

Mahomet was not at all displeased with the ill success of the Negotiations, but presently curseth the Jews in a perticular Surat, declares that they are Enemies to the Moslemin, and aim at a distinct Monarchy of their own, that they had alwaies persecuted the Prophets of their own Nation, and were so arrogant as the imagine that God could not raise a Prophet but from among them.

In the third year, therefore, after the Hegira, he set out against them, and in fifteen daies destroys their Castles, and rduceth them uder his power, killing Caabas the son of Alasrasv, who was his most bitter Enemy.

It was well for him that he distressed the Jews in so short a time, for the Coreischites, thinking to find him so busied there that he would not be able to defend Medina against their powerful Forces, sent Abusofian with 3000 foot and 200 horses and 3000 Camels (the milk of which was their food) to attack the town. Mahomet, altho' he could not get together above 1000 Men, draws out his army to fight them. A bloody battle ensued in which the Moslemin were at first Victors, but being at last overpower'd with numbers, and having lost Hamza, Mahomet's Uncle, and seventy others of their party, Mahomet, who that day

might render the Coreischites desperate, and so alarm their Neighbours that they might be induced to joyn in their defence.

He thought conventient, therefore, to desist from any further attempts at this time, and to return to Medina, and establish himself at home, before he went about more remote Conquests. He considered that in the Territories he had already acquired, as also in Yaman and the neighbouring Provinces of Persia, were Multitudes of Jews, who were not so much obliged by the protection given them but that they would upon any opportunity advance the interest of their own Nation, and endeavour to resettle themselves in their old Monarchy at Jerusalem, as they had lately attempted under Cosroes, and formerly upon divers occasions. Nor was he ignorant that the Jews hated him for magnifying Isa and exalting him above Moses in the prophetic Dignity, whom they had put to death as a seditious person and esteemed the son of a Whore. Whereupon he resolved to secure himself of them before they should make any head, and by subduing them increase the number of his Victories, ease himself of so many underhand Enemies, and keep his Troops in Exercise.

I know not what open cause of Jealousy the Jews had given to the Prophet, but he dispatched Abubecr to them, to demand that they should embrace Islamism, repeat the Sallah, or Mahometan prayer, pay the tenth of their Estates, and "lend to God a considerable sum of Money,." No man was so fit for this Employment as Abubecr, for besides his great courage he was exceeding passionate. No Jew could be a greater Bigot in his way then Abubecr was in Islamism, they could not beleive so little concerning Mahomet, but, on the contrary, he beleived as much; he believed all that Mahomet said, and all that was said of him, when the Prophet reported that he had been carried in one night from Meccha to Jerusalem, and from thence up to Heaven. The Coreischites laughed at it as a bold Figment and Imposture, and asked Abubecr if he believed it. He readily answered that he did not only give credit to that, but beleived and would justify matters more incredible than these. This warm temper of his made him a fit instrument on this occasion, where the business

anything memborable by reason of their small Force, or that Mahomet would make no show of invading others til he was in a conditions to defend himself.

But now in the second year his parties being better formed and more numerous, and his interest strengthened with new friendships, he resolved to enter upon Action, and having information of a rich Caravan belonging cheifly to the Coreischites which was going into Syria, he put himself at the head of a party of 319 men, in order to intercept it, by this means to impower himself and impoverish his enemies, who being touched in this tender part would probably become mutinous against their Governours, and thereby facilitate his designes upon Meccha. Abusophian, the son of Hareth, who had the conduct of the Caravan, altho' he had with him a guard of 900 or 1000 soldiers, yet finding himself in danger to be attack'd, and knowing the valour and discipline of the Moslemin, and the difficulty of protecting a large Caravan and fighting the Enemy at the same time, designed to make a retreat; but in Beder, or Bader, the Mahometans reduced him to a necessity of fighting, and attack'd him with that vigor, that neither the superior Number, nor valour of the Coreischites, nor the conduct of their General, could resist the shock. Seventy of the stoutest and bravest of the Coreischites fell that day, most of them comanders, and as many more were taken prisoners, with the loss only of fourteen Moslemin, who were declared Martyrs. The spoil, which was very great, was brought to the publick Treasury. Mahomet having so principled his followers that they regarded nothing beyond a more subsistence and the propagation of Islamism.

The fame of this Victory added much to the renown of the Prophet, yet he did not think fit to prosecute his Victories any futher, since he resolved not to make use of force against the city of Meccha out of respect to the holy Caab; besides, he did not think it prudence to grasp at more then he could securely manage. He knew that young Converts are not so fixed to their profession and party but that they easily become factious and mutinuos or revolt again, and that a nearer approach to Meccha

Alnajash Aitshama Ben Abrahar, health, O Apostle of God, who art sent of God," & c. This Letter was carried by Giafar, Arithà, the son of the Negush, and sixty of the Princes of Abassinia, who, with the Refugee's, accompanied Giafar, Ibn Omar, and Aritha. The Arrival of the Abyssines at Medina was attended with all the solemnity & Splendor which became the Prophet. He comanded the Christians who were at Medina, with their Presbyters and Monks, to be present at the reception; and after the first ceremonies were past, having caused the people to be ranked with their faces towards Meccha & the Caab, ordered Giafar to read them somewhat out of the Alchoran. He fixed upon the Surat of Mary, and when they heard it, they wept, and publickly declared themselves Moslemin.

It is easy to apprehend what effects this Embassy had upon all Arabia. Those of Yaman could not but call to mind their late subjection to the Abyssines, and feared a second conquest. Those of Meccha were terribly affrighted, and suspected the Islamism of the Abyssines as a trick of State, and rather feigned then real. They remembered the attempt which Abrahah Alasharan had made upon the Caab, as is before related, which happened in the 42nd year of Cosroes, or Anusherwan, at which time Mahomet was born, from which the Arabians made a new Epoche, and to which there is a Surat in the Alcoran relating. On the other hand, the adherents and Confederates of Mahomet were hereby very much strengthened and assured more in the Truth and success of his Apostleship, so that it became the Coreischites now to look to themselves, and to prosecute him by a vigorous Warr.

Mahomet to amuse them the more, and the better to discipline his few Followers, had not imbodied any such numbers, nor made any such appearance, as might terrify the rest of the Arabians, the petty Princes whereof might be thereby induced to unite into a close League and Confederacy to his destruction. In the end of the first year in which he came to Medina, he had sent out his Uncle Hamza with a white flag hallowed by himself, accompanied with thirty Men; but this small troop produced no change anywhere, nor attempted

before the piligrimage of Mahomet to Medina, so that Giafar, residing in the court of Aitshama, had time and opportunity to instruct him in the doctrine and worship of Mahomet, and to make him accquainted with his history and character.

The Abyssines had alwaies used circumcision, not upon a Religious but civil Account, and were (as it is said) converted to Christianity by the Eunuch of the Queen of Candace, who was baptized by Phillipp, and that they were confirmed in it by St. Matthew and others of the Apostles who preached there. Undoubtedly they were at first of the numbr of Judaising Christians, and afterwards turn'd Jacobites, as the Arabians also did. This affinity in Religion, in circumcision, and in rejecting the Melchites, together with the puzling Notions of the Trinity, especially in that ignorant Age (not to mention that the Abyssines had not long before reigned in Yaman for seventy years or more, which the Negush might again cast his eye upon, and so be the more ready to foment a party and encourage divisions among them), I say all those Circumstances concurring did much facilitate the Conversion of the Negush. He was soon convinced' that it was impossible there should be three persons in the Deity, and that it was absurd to believe that God did beget a son, and hearing that Mahomet did not only stile Isa a Prophet but superlatively honoured him as the world and Spirit of God, he embraced Islamism. Upon this intelligence Mahomet comands Ibn Omar to prepare for a Embassy to Ethiopia. The retinue had much of Splendor, and Ibn Omar carried a Letter from the Prophet which begun thus: "In the name of God, merciful and gracious, from Mahomet the Apostle of God to Negush Aitshama, King of the Abassines, &c." His reception there was no less solemn then magnificent. Aitshama, descending from his Throne to receive the Letter, laid it presently on his Eyes, and sitting on the ground read the contents, and returned a submissive answer, which begun with the Bismillah, or form with which the strict Mahometans usually begin their Discourse, and which is the Proem of almost every Chapter in the Alcoran, viz. : "In the name of God, merciful and gracious, to the Apostle of God of glorious memory, from

CHAPTER-VI

THE RETURN OF ALY, AND THE WARRS OF MAHOMET

Having set all things in order here, as he had don at Agra, Aly retired back to Medina with a numerous train of Volunteers, who came of their own Accord to attend and guard the Prophet. They disciplined themselves there every day, and what time could be spared from their Sallah, and their Military Exercises, was imployed in working at some handicraft Employment, teaching them that food was most pleasant, nourishing, and blesed, which every man gain'd by his perticular Industry and Labour, and that God delighted in those Alms to be given which a man had gain'd himself.

Mahomet received Aly with as much Honor as became the gravity of the Apostle of God, and Aly prostrated himself before him with much Reverence. At the same time there arrived news from the Kingdom of the Abyssines, how Giafar, the son of Abutalib, and brother of Aly, had converted the Alnajash or Negush, call'd Aitshama, Emperor of that Kingdom, and a great part of his sujects to Ialamism. This Giafar had been one of the first of the Followers of Mahomet at Meccha, and upon that account being a sufferer in the general Persecution by the Coreischites upon all such as were freinds to the Prophet, he and divers others of them desired Mahomet's permission to retire; which obtained, they withdrew into Ethiopia for protection, where they met with a very generous and kind entertainment from the Negush, notwithstanding the Coreischites did send Embassadors after them to that court to have them deliver'd up as Enemys of the State. This Hegira, or flight, was some time

with a great deal of Fortitude and cheerfulness, kissing afterwards the hands of him that chastised him, and making him a present thereupon. This last Spectacle astonished the Saracens no less then the first they admired to see the patience wherewith the Moslemin underwent their punishement, tho' they received 100 stripes, and those so cruel that several pounds of flesh were to be cut afterward from the bruised parts to effect their Recovery. So great was their submission that they held the first Battoons, such as were used to these purposes, came down from Heaven, that all of them were sacred, and that those who were bruised or touch'd with that Instrucment of Justice were exempt from torments after death, and that the party punished ought to kiss the hands of the Lictor, ahd give him thanks, and a prsent for the correction. The impressions which this Spectacle made in the Sacracens are not easily conjectured. Aly, who knew how to derive advantages from any emergency without seeming so to do, omited nothing that might engage that Valiant Nation to he service of the Prophet. He instructed them in Islamism, made use of all those Arguments which had pervailed on the Agarens: whatever might work upon, their passion or reason, he urged to them, and drew Motives as well from Honor and Interest as from Piety. He desired they would do more for the great God then they had don in the behalf of the Associated Gods: and shew themselves as valiant under the Apostle of God as under Odenatus and Zenobia, Almondar or Alhareth, Justinian, Heraclius, or Cosroes, that the Arabians were the same they alwaies were, but that Persia and Christendom were so degenerated that they needed not to apprehend any difficulties in the conquest of either.

Apostleship then those of Agra and their Customs & manners being the same.

The most remarkable accident in the Journey, and which contributed much to the veneration of Aly, was that toward the dawning of the day. When the morning Sallah, or prayers, was to be said by the Moslemin, and they had begun their Devotion, an unexpected fire broke out, and consumed the cabin wherein two of the followers of aly were lodged: one of them chose rather to be burnt then to preserve his Life by discontinuing his prayers, upon which he was so intent that neither the sight of the fire, the noise and concourse of people, nor the importunities of such as call'd to and pull'd him could any way divert his thoughts or make him express any sign that he heard or regarded them; the other escaped by a timely flight.

The news hereof coming to Aly, he imediately pronounced, with extraordinary Zeal, the allah Ekbar, or Mahometan Exclamation, God, God, the Great God! And calling for the Mosleman who had escaped, he told him that the man was happy who trusted in God; that our condition in this World being so short and uncertain, our Wisdom and felicity consisted in resigning ourselves to the Will of God, and devoting our Hearts intirely to him. That to serve God was our duty as his creatures and subjects, to whom it was enjoyned our Glory as Muslemin and the way to Eternal happiness. He declared the deceased to be a Martyr, and prayed that God's peace might be upon him, and his memory glorious, who had expressed so great a Devotion to God, and so great a contempt of Life, that he would not interrupt his prayer to save himself. That prayer was the pillar of Religion, and key of Paradise. That nothing ought to detain or divert a Mosleman from his devotion, and he who could at such times think upon or mind anything else, did not merit the Name of Mosleman or true beleiver. That the Value of Life and of this World was inconsistent with a true faith concerning the felicity of the future. That this World was not other then a dead Carcass or Carrion, and they were Dogs which pursued it. This said, he comanded that he who had escaped should be severely bastinado'd, which chastisement he endured

the Saracens were denominated from Sarah, the wife of Abraham, and that they took that name to conceal their descent from the handmaid Hagar; but this is so ridiculous a conceit that Scaliger, Fuller, Hottinger, Pocock, and all the intelligent Moderns laugh at it: for the Saracens never did claim kindred with Sarah or renounce Ismael or Hagar, but avowed that the majesty and greatness of Hagar was to transcend that of Sarah. I could willingly assent to Fuller that (Saracens being usually by writers taken for all the Scenites and Inhabitants of the desert Arabia) they were so called from Sarak, which in the Syriac tongue signifieth empty and barren, their Countrey being such. But since Hottinger thinks it strange that the Arabians should give themselves a Syriac name and not an Arabic, I shall decline that, tho' I can as little think they would admit of a name the Arabic *Sarak*, "to shark" (sèrq) or "steal privately," which yet is the opinion of Scaliger, Hottinger, and Velesius, tho' Dr. Pocock dislikes it, they being publick robbers, not private. He thinks, therefore, they were called Saracens from Sharkion, which signifies the East, because they lived Eastward of Judea, which reason had been better if the name had been of Jewish Extraction; but in that or the Syriack language it signifies no such thing, nor could the Saracens call themselves so, there being others more Easterly then they; nor could they do it in reference to the Western Arabians, they being thus termed in History before any Arabians were settled in the Western World contradistinct from them. If I may be admitted to deliver my Opinion, I believe they were one province of Arabia, which was call'd Saraka, and lies beyond Nabataea or Arabia petrea, the inhabitants of which are call'd Saracens, and the Country by Ptolomy, call'd Σαραχηνη. I am the more persuaded of the truth hereof, because Geographers in distinguishing the Arabians denominate them from their perticular Regions as the Cedrei, Agareni, Nabataei, &c., therefore I suppose Aly to have gone to the City (as some Authors stile it) of Saraka. In his Journey and reception there happen'd nothing that needs relating after what I have said of the Agarens, the Saracens being no less prepossess'd by Emisaries with the fame of Mahomet & his

the Coreischites of Meccha instill any into you; you will then be satisfied that 'tis unity amongst the Ismaelites, and Islamism amongst all, that our Prophet is sent to promote. Learn but from him to worship one God, to reverence and pray towards one Caab to advance on pure Religion, and leading your forces whilst you dispose youselves for the happy success of affairs, we Pilgrims beg the Honour of a precedency in the most laborious, perilous, and troublesom parts of this glorious undertaking.

This speech being ended, Aly found the Agarens wholy bent to adhere to Mahomet, and resolute to hazard their lives for the propagation and defence of the Religion of Islamism; nothing was to be heard but the Allah Ekbar, or Exclamation of God, the great God, and Mahomet his Apostle. He left two of his companions to instruct them in the Sallah, or prayers, and ohterwise to form them into a convenient Discipline, that they might be ready upon any urgency, it being the determination of the Prophet not to draw any greater Forces together as yet, partly because the Countrey of Medina was so very barren that even the Scenites, or most wild and hardy Arabians, could not be accomodated thereabouts, so excessive were the Heats, so scorching the Sands, so steril the soyl, and so great the scarcity of fresh and wholesome water; partly also because his new Moslemin being as yet Novices in their Religion might be drawn into Faction and Mutiny, or otherwise relinquish him, and it was more prudential not to imbody others then such as were firm to him, then to hasard being deserted by any that had been his followers. He knew the nature of the Arabians, how prone they were to listen to Novelties, and how obstinate to maintain even with their lives whatsoever they were prepossessed with. He did not doubt but he had, or could soon get together, a force sufficient to defend himself in case he should be attacked, and it was not his intention to take Meccha by force, but by surrender, since by assualting and storming the City he could not chuse but profane or violate the respect he had for the Sacred Caab. Aly now prepares to depart from Agra, and on the morrow hastens to Saraca, which was the chief City of the Saracens. I find St. Jerom Sozomen and many of the ancients were of opinion that

but either by the weakness of their neighbors, or because their Countires are of so little Concernment as not to excite in any ambitious mind the desire of conquering them, or they are under shelter from the interprises of one by the Jealousy of the other, and conserve their liberty by reason that their ambitious neighbours hinder each other from seizing on them and becoming their Master. Consider with youselves how often your divisions and subdivisions have made you a prey to the invading Persians or Romans. Have you not seen the roman Armies at your dores, and been almost reduced to desolation under Trajan, Severus, and others? Hath there ever been a War betwixt those two potent Empires, in which Arabia hath not been harrassed, & the blood of the Ismaelities shed on one or both sides? Think of the calamities you have endured, and examine from whence they have sprung. Enquire what renown Arabia was arrived to under Odenatus and Zenobia, which had stil been greater but that some of your petty Princes were inveigled and bought of to combat the others. Your Enemies confess they owe more to your petty Princes that would be mercenary then to their own Forces which you singly bafled. Independancy is an empty Name if poverty, weakness, and contempt be the Consequences of it; and a comodious subjection is to be preferr'd before a shadow of Soveraignty and a precarious insignificant power: the liberty is greater; the repute greater; the riches greater; and all more secure if a smal Principality become the accessional of a powerfull Monarchy, then if it subsist of its self. I speak not this that our Prophet demands, or that God enjoyns that you should lay down your power at the feet or submit it to the disposal of Mahomet. No, he is designed our Prophet, not our Emperor, and brings us no laws but what are to guide us to heaven, or which God enjoyns to be observed here. When a nearer veiw shall have convinced your Eyes, as Fame no doubt hath fill'd your ears that he is altogether averse to the concerns of this World: that he is so far from depriving any Ismaelite of his Liberty, that he would set even a bird free if he saw him incaged, and so remote from Ambition and Avarice that the greatest pleasure he takes in having anything is that he may give it away to some more indigent Moslemin,--you will then lay aside all suspicions should

the Armies of the Emperors Gratian and Valens, and forced them to sue for peace. In the time of Justinus, who preceded Justinian, King Almandar made the like conquest, and obliged the Emperor to send an Embassy to him for peace,; and lately, did not a party of the Saracens under Cosroes, in the time of Phocas and Heraclius, overrun Egypt, and add to the victories of the Persian King? I must tell you, renowned Agarens, tho' other know your puissance, you never understood it yourselves. You have alwaies been the Stipendaries and Apennage to the Roman and Persian Empire; you have, as it were, been subject sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other. We find that Arabia hath been divided betwixt both, and Aretas hath fought in favour of Justinian, whilst Almondar hath fought against him, and Cosroes hath appointed Princes to one party, and the Greek Emperor to the other. And what have you acquired by all the Victories you have gain'd, and the services you have rendered to the Greeks? Have they continued to any of you the usual pay? Are they not indepted to you in long arrears? And what answer have they made to your just demands? They have no money to spare for Agaren dogs! Certainly you deserved a more civil return, and you need not that heaven should excite you by a Prophet to revenge this Indignity; make them feel your power, and once more convince them how necessary your fiendship is to them, by letting them see you can be their Masters. Bostra or Vostra gave birth and original to Marcus Julius Philippus, and an Arabian swaied once a Roman Emperor, but deprived him of the Empire. To effect this let us not live divided under more petty Princes then we have tribes, let us all unite into one Monarchy. We are all of one Language and one parentage; we are all Agarens, all Ismaelities. 'Tis a pitiful thing to see into what necessities the petty Princes are reduced to maintain themselves, and to how many real Evils they are exposed to conserve that vain Image of Liberty, and that sweet delusion of soveraign Authority that doth bewitch them; they consume themselves in expences for their defence, and give almost all they have that nothing may be taken from them. They are obliged to observe all the fancies and notions of freinds and Enemies. If they subsist, it is not by their own strength, for they have none,

dominions as far as there is any habitable Region. The work is happily begun: the great God hath sent you a Prophet to conduct you, such as the sun never beheld. Edris, Noah, Abraham, Ismael, Moses, Isa had those characters imprinted on them that we reverence their Memories and esteem, each of them truly great, but none ever equal'd Mahomet, the last and cheifest Apostle of God. No Coran ever equal'd his for subject or eloquence, and to make way for it you see that that Coran of Musay or Moses, and the Coran of Isa, are perished or so corrupted by their followers that there is no affiance to be placed in them. 'Tis by a beleif herein that Moslemin shall obtain the highest glory in Heaven & on Earth, no Monarchy was ever equal to that to which God by his Prophet doth sumon you. If you behold the Condition of the Greek Monarchy, and Christendom in general, all things will appear easy to you: their subjects are so exasperated by oppression, so debauched in their manners, so indifferent in their Religion, and after so many quick Revolutions, by the death of the Emperor Mauritius and Phocas, and the usurpation of Heraclius, so unconçerned who shall govern them, that there needs only the attempt to effect the conquest of them. There is no unity in their Councils, no duty nor obedience in the soldiery so defrauded in their Pay during the reigns of Mauritius and Phocas. There is no conduct or prudence in their Generals or Comanders, no union in their Church, you shall no sooner advance your standard, but the Arrians will become your friends; the numerous Jacobites and Nestorians will enlarge their divisions and choose rather to live peaceably under your protection, then anathematised, scorned, hated, persecuted, and depressed under the Melchites. 'Tis natural for Mankind to endure more patiently & willingly the Rule of a Forreigner, and one differing in profession from them, then to be tyrannised over and trampled upon by one of their fellows of the same Religion, and no better extraction then themselves; and those potent Sects will bear with content a Yoak under which the domineering Melchites will groan. They are not unaccquainted with the Arabian force, your Armies have lately carried Terror over all Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; this a parcell of you did, but heretofore under Queen Mauvia you vanquish'd

Mahomet changed his benediction into a Curse, and prohibited his followers from ever drinking wine. Here Aly put a period to these kind of Discourses; and Dinner being concluded, now he found the Agarens sufficiently at the devotion of Mahomet, he determined to accomplish the main ends of his Negotaition by an additional Harrangue to this prupose.

Valiant sons of Hagar & Ismael: If I thought it needful to speak any more to you to convince you of the truth of the Religion our Prophet teacheth, or of the divine authority of the Coran each line whereof is a durable Miracle which will alwaies appear to be so, as long as the language of Ismael doth continue upon earth, since no human Wit or Learning can produce any thing equal to the lest Stuat or Chapter therof if this were necessary, I would insist upon further arguments and new motives to persuade you to Islamism, the sum whereof is by the Testimony of the Gabrial himself avowed to be this,

That a man confess there is no God besides the great God, and that Mahomet is the Apostle of God; that a man strictly observe the five times of Prayer daily; that he give Alms; that he fast during the month Ramadan; and that (if possible) he make religious Pilgrimage to Meccha and the Caab: of which supposing you sufficiently convinced, I proceed to another point which contributes as much to your interests as to the glory of God. That Life which God hath lent you and which he may at any moment recall, he is pleased at this time to give you an opportunity of employing in his service, and if you lose it upon this occasion, which otherwise a fall, a feavour, or the lest Casualty might bereave you of, the supreme joys of Paradise are ascertained to you. 'Tis the divine pleasure that Idolatry should be destroyed out of the Earth, and the progeny of Ismael are those for whom God designes this high favour to compell all men to the true worship. But such is the divine goodness that, besides, the future rewards alloted for Moslemins, he hath annexed to this difficult and laborious Employment Empire and Glory on Earth. 'Tis nereby that the promise concerning Ismael must take place, and by these means that the Valiant Agarens must give Laws to the utmost ends of the Earth, and extend their

convinced that it was not fitting for men on Earth to drink wine, since it had so ill Effects upon those pure angelical bodies. They then perceived the reason why their first Progenitors paid a reverence to the morning star, that they did not worship the star as the Idolaters did since, but uttr'd an Allah, allah, Howa Cobar! To the Honour of God, who had placed that bright Star in the firmament to put them in mind of the inconveniences of drinking Wine on Earth, where our Life is an errant to serve and glorify God, (not to pamper ourselves), and to accquaint them with the future pleasures of the celestial Paradise.

Tho' all the Topics that Rhetorick its self could yeild would not have persuaded them so powerfully as this single Apologue, yet the abstinence from Wine being of so great importance to the preservation of Civil & military Discipline, mutual Friendship, Obedience, Dispatch, and Secrecy, without which the Arabian Monarchy could not be atcheived, Aly thought fit to enforce that point by a second relation. That the Prophet being invited by a Friend to a Entertainment at his house, chanced in his way thither to be detained at a nuptial, where he admired the innocent cheerfulness and Mirth of each guest, how friendly they embrached and kissed each other and rendered mutual Testimonies of unfeigned Love. And enquiring of the Master of the house what it was that created in them so debonair and complaisant an humour, he was told that this was the usual Effect of Wine, and that they had drunk some; whereupon he pronounced a blessing upon that liquor which produced so amicable a Disposition in the breasts of Mortals. The Prophet thereupon departed; and as he returned the next day, called there again, but found things in another Condition then when he left them: here lay a scattered leg, and there an arm lop't of, some he saw lye cripled, and others mangled & bereft of Eyes; whereupon enquiring what could be the occasion of so bloody a Fray among those who were so friendly before, the Landlord told him that this was the usual consequence of drinking Wine, that after that they had drunk hard they became mad, and from misunderstanding one another proceeded to blows, so had killed some and maimed others. Upon this

will have their perfect Relish & Gusto, our immortal bodies being qualified with senses never to be dulled with Satiety.

Hereupon he related the Dialogue in the Alcoran between Mahomet and Abadias, a Jew. Abadias demanded of him what use there would be of Wine in Paradise? The Prophet answered, Your queston is so subtil, that I must return a double answer to one Interrogatory. I shall therefore satify you why it may be drunk there, and why not here. There were two Angels, Azot (Harut) and Marot (Marut), sent down by God from Heaven into this world to instruct and govern Mankind, with this Caution, that they should never judge unrighteously or drink wine. This being known many repaired to them for Justice, which they impartially administered. Amongst others appeared before them a very beautiful woman to complain against her husband; to incline them to favour her case, she invites them to dinner, and treated them magnificently, charging her servants to ply them with wine, to the drinking whereof she also frequently urged them; in short, they were made exceeding drunk, and then feeling those impressions from her beauty which before they were not sensible of, they importuned her to that Compliance which the most amorous sigh after. She promised to consent provided that one of them should accquaint her with the way whereby they come down from Heaven, and the other with the passage up thither, which they accordingly did; and she having disengaged herself mounted strait way to Heaven, which when God perceived, informing himself of the manner of her Arrival, he turned her into the morning star, that she might there shine with as great Lustre as she did on Earth. The two Angels being call'd to an Account were ordered to choose whether they would suffer Torments in this World, or in the world to come. They elected the first, and remain hung to this day in Iron chains with their heads downwards in the Abyss of Babill. What say you now, Abdias is not reasonable that Wine should be prohibited here on Earth, and yet allowed hereafter?

The Agarens hereupon fell into admiration of the Coran, and did not doubt but he who published such divine things must be the Apostle of God and an Intimate of Heaven. They were

(which sympathised with their bodies) in an equality of temper and uniformity of disposition, and would render them more firm in their Religion, fixed in their friendship, equal in their Humours, and tractable in their Passions. That Luxury was the Seminary of all mischief: that even the first approaches thereto were dangerous, and if a man once indulged himself therein, the Evil would become remediless; that our desires are apt to grow boundless when they transend the limits of what is absolutely necessary; that inordinate Desires were perpetual Torment, never satisfied, but alwaies Spurring Men on to new projects; that Content was the greatest felicity, which was attained only by extinguishing our Desires, and a Mosleman was happy enough if he did not want.

The Agarens, astonished at their parsimony and Abstinence, invited them to drink some Persian wine, adding that persons who fed so sparingly would stand in need of some refreshment by a draught thereof, which would recruit their strength & renew their Vigour, impaired by a laborious discipline and slender Diet. But Aly declined their Offer, saying that their Prophet had severely interdicted the Moslemin to tast any wine. That there was more pleasure in obeying the comandments of God, then in the flavour of that generous liquor. That he who made man best understood his fabrick, and would not prohibit him any thing without which he could not subsist. That Adam, Seth, Edris lived to the greatest Age without it, and that it was only an imaginary sense of our own weakness which put us upon the use of such cordials. That it was true that Bacchus, the God of Wine, was worshipped in Arabia, and that forreigners theld that he was fostered there, but this was a corruption of true Islamism, that both the Idol and the liquor intituled to him were now to be banished, and the Arabians to know that Baccha signified no more then great and renowned, and, however now depraved, was at first a Religious Exclamation in praise of the great God. That whatever pleasure there was in wine, those sensual pleasures are inconsiderate in this Life, and therefore God had reserved the intire satisfaction of our Senses till we come to Paradise, where all such delights

the greater impression, because they were set of by an Age in which they were extroaordinary; his courtesy was such as compell'd his Enemies to quell their passion, and reason that he seem'd to have charm'd their senses, & possessed himself of all the Affections of their Souls; he prepared their courages as he pleased, infused boldness into the most fearful, ambition into spirits incapable of it, and which eeven then did not apprehend what they were instigated by, and persuaded the most impetuous and undisciplined to such a moderation and regularity of military discipline as might be subservient to their great Ends,-- the Example of his small but well—trained Retinue conduced not a little to this last point.

The Agarens were all Eyes and all Ears, and their souls distracted between what they saw and what they heard, but the approach of Noon gave Aly and his Companions occasion to withdraw from their presence to prayer, and so they had the greater liberty to recollect themselves. Dinner being brought in, which was served with more plenty and neatness then is usual among the Arabians, the illustrious Pilgrim and his Associates declined to tast of any thing that appear'd to be more delicated then ordinary, and the Viands added nothing to the Entertainment of the Moslemin; but as they testified their welcome and the kindness of their friends, they said it was the comand of the Prophet that the Moslemin should not indulge themselves in such sensual pleasures in this life, God having reserved them for the divertisements of Paradise and the future world; that here our bodies are frail and our senses easily glutted, so that such momentary delights are not worth our serious thoughts and regards; that they did but effeminate and intenerate the body and beset the soul; that Courage and luxury were inconsistent, and since the great God did by the Prophet call forth the Moslemin to extirpate Idolatry and propagate Islamisme or Ismaelism by Arms, they ought to prepare themselves for that holy but laborious Militia, and that nothing did more conduce thereto then that a man should live at home as he did abroad, in the town as in the field, in the court as in the Camp: that this course was most healthy, and withall would preserve their Minds

Temple destroyed, whilst you retain your ancient habitations. Nor can any Monarch boast of an intire Conquest of the most valiant Agarens; the Caab hath indeed been profaned with Idols, but never destroyed nor totally alienated from the worship of the great God.

These discourses raised in the Agarens not only a great Attention, but in an instant seem'd to have gain'd them to the party of the Prophet. They heard with a great deal of pleasure the glory of their extraction, the share which their progenitors had in the Love of the great God, who had made so great promises to their Tribes and was so mindful of the desert countrey of Arabia as to designe it to be the seat of the most potent and renowened Empire in the World. These fellows that understood no other delicacies then sower milk, and parched peas or beans; not better array then what the hair of their goats or camels, and that coarsely spun and worse woven, did yield them; no other beds and palates then the ground; no other riches then a few Camels, a lean horse or two, and a bow and arrows; no other Deity then a few mistaken stones, which at a p;ilgrimage to the Caab they or their ignorant Ancestors had brought home and devoutly worshipped, or, if any had been more illuminated, their religion mounted no further then to make some ill-favoured Cringes to the Moon and mumble an Orison to the morning Star, crying, Allah, Allah, Howa Cabar! For this was their old form of Prayer or Doxology. These fellows, I say, now begun to imagine themselves the darlings of Heaven, the heirs of Paradise and Monarchs of the Universe; and since they now comprehended the true original of the present religion, and what it was from whence they had degenerated, they resolved to be as good Moslemin as their Father Ismael, and to own that worship which all the Prophets had preached and adhered, especially it being more facil and easy then their Idolatry and present superstition.

It is one of the most difficult parts of a Prince to adjust Employments to their Ministers, and to make use of suitable instrumeants for carrying on each Affair. The spritely youth and fire of Aly did not a little constribute to the happy success of his Negotiation; his good mein, his prudence and other virtues made

his Son, directs his knife to his throat, and shutting his eyes, put his strength to it to make it cut, but finding when he opened his eyes that the knife had made no entrance, he was extremely troubled, and trying the edge of it against a stone, cut it in two, whereat he was so astonished that he addressed himself to the knife, and asking it why, having so good an edge as to cut a stone, it could not cut his son's throat; the knife made answer that God would have it so. Whereupon the Angel Gabriel took Abraham by the hand, and bid him hold a little, telling him that God would only make tryal of his Faith. He bid him unbind his son, and sacrafice a he-goat which at that instance came into the place, and which Abraham accordingly offered to God for a burnt-offering. The three stones which Hagar, Abraham, and Ismael threw at the Divel are yet to be seen near the highway betwixt Arafat and Meccha, and the two great heaps of stones there have been made partly by our Muslemitical Ancestors, partly by the deluded Idolaters. Of the first, each used to bring three stones to be cast at the Divel, at the same place where these heaps are, to the end he might not distract them in their Devotions at the Caab or Mount Arafat. I know, added Aly, that the Jews, and the pretended followers of Isa, do say that it was Isaac that was to be sacraficed, but this is one of the Corruptions of their Coran, for the intendments of God were greater towards Ismael then Isaac, for which reason Sarah was made barren till our Father was born; this Sarah foresaw, and therefore took such care of him (as also did the Angel Gabriel). In Ismael was circumcision first celebrated. It was concerning Ismael that the promise was made to Hagar, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, it shall not be numbered for multitude. The generation of Hagar was greater then the generation of Sarah. It shall reign to the East, and to the West, and God shall let them rule over all the Nations of the Earth. Behold, renowned Agarens, your illustrious Ancestors veiw the Countrey that you and your breathren are possessed of, the three Arabias with the rich appanages, in Mesopatamia and Syria; compare these with the narrow and barren land of promise designed for the progeny of Sarah, enquire how often they have been totally conquered and carried away Captive into foreign Countries, and their

was to carry him was a mere forgery, and that he was carying him to the Shambles. Hagar asked him the reason why Abraham would use her so, since he had alwaies express'd a great tenderness to her son. The Divel made answer that God had comanded it should be so; whereto Hagar replied, Since it was God's good pleasure to make that disposal of him, it was but fit he should comply therewith: whereupon the Divel pressing harder upon her, and treating her as an unnatural mother, endeavouring by those aggravations to bring her into Rebellion against God, she pelted him away with Stones. The Divel's endeavour proving unsuccessfull that way, and too weak to overcome the obstinancy of a woman, he applied himself to Abraham, revived in him the tenderness and affection of a Father, represented to him the horridness of the Murder he was going to comit, and remonstrated to him how unlikely it was that God should be the Author of so abominable an Action. But Abraham, who was accquainted with the subtilty and artifices of that wicked Spirit, sent him away, and to be the sooner rid of him, cast also a stone at him. The last attempt the Divel had to make was to represent to Ismael the horror of death, and the unnatural procedure of his Father; but he found the same treatment from him as he had from the other two, and had another stone flung at his head. The father and son being come to the top of the Mountain, Abraham said to his son Ismael, My son, I cannot imagin thou knowest the occasion of our Journey, and the reason why I have brought thee to this place, which is this, that God hath comanded me to sacrafice thee. Whereto Ismael made answer, Since it is God's pleasure it should be so, his Will be done, only let me intreat thee, Father, to grant me three things. The first is that thou take care to bind me so fast that the pains of death may not engage me to attempt anything against thee: the second is that thou whet the knife well, and after thou hast thrust it into my throat, that thou hold it very fast and shut thy Eyes, lest the cruelty of the Action should dishearten thee from going through with it, and so leave me to languish a long time: and the third, that when thou returnest home, thou remember my duty to my Mother. Abraham having promised to observe all these things, and whetted his knife, binds

Makam Ibrahim, or the place of Abraham, is the stone whereon Abraham stood when the Caab was built, the impressions of his feet remain in it, the print of the right foot being deeper then that of the left; the other, called the Black Stone, which is riveted to the Wall in a corner of the Caab, on Baśsa side, is no Idol neither, but one of the precious Stones in Paradise brought thence by Adam, carried up to Heaven again at the Deluge, and brought to Meccha again by the Angel Gabriel. WhenAbraham built the Caab, it was at first as white as Milk, but the sins of Men have caused its colour to degenerate into black. We are so far from detesting the Caab, or hindring the pilgrimage thither, that it is a fundamental Article of our Religion to undertake it, and none can be a true Muṣulman, who doth not think himself absolutely obliged to go thither to perform the usual Rites, and do his Devotion at those Stones, not as now it is don, but out of piety to the great God only, and reverence to our holy progenitors, the Stones are blessed memorials of Abraham, Hagar, and Ismael, not objects of Devotion. We doubt not but there is a benediction attends such as piously kiss the Black Stone, and stooping do pass under it. There is a heap of stones near the way, betwixt Medina and Meccha, where the Idolaters do now cast each three stones in their peregrination in honour of Merkolis or Mercury. See, said Aly, to what a height of Idolatry to true Muslamitical Religion of our Father Ismael is corrupted. After the Caab was built, and Ismael grown a Stripling, the Angel Gabriel appeared to Ibrahim, and told him that God intended to make the highest tryal of his Affection and gratitude, and that he would have him in acknowledgment of so many favours to sacrafice his son to him. Abraham imediately consented, and, returning home, bid Hagar call up her son, and put on his best cloaths, that he might be the better look'd on at a wedding to which he intended to carry him. They departed early the next morning, and took their way towards Mount Arafat, Abraham carrying with him a sharp knife and some cords. But as soon as they were gone, Sceithan (that is to say, the Divel) reproached her with the easiness wherewith she had consented that her son Ismael should go from her, telling her that what Abraham had pretended concerning the wedding to which he

Countrey, and which Ismael afterwards established, when he settled himself in Arabia. Aly doubted not that they had a traditional knowledge preserved in their Songs of the time when Idols were first brought into the Caab, and that it was an inovation upon the true Religion planted by Ismael, who together with Abraham built that Temple. He told them that besides the introduction of a Multitude of Idols and associate Gods, the Religion of Ismael had been depraved, and in a manner abolished, by the mixture of Lyes and Fables, and that God had now at length been pleased to extend his mercy to the Arabians, the Jews having lost their Coran, which Moses gave them, and made Ozair or Ezra an Associate with God, receiving a Coran (by which is meant the Canon of the Scripture, and the Cabbala which the Jews derive from Ezra) of this as if it were from the great God, destroying the Prophets and persecuting Isa when he was sent to reform them. The followers of Isa having also lost the Coran sent to them, and associated Isa and Mary his Mother with God, and in most places introduced Idols into their Churches and houses. That now God had raised a Prophet out of the linage of Ismael to publish the truth, and restore the doctrine of Ismael to its purity. The Caab, sayes he, we reverence more then any Coreischite at Meccha, and since it hath pleased God by his Prophet to remove to Keblah thither, towards that wee direct our faces when we pray. The pool of Zamzam we hold no less sacred then they, tho' not upon an Idolatrous Account, because we know that when our Mother Hagar was delivered of Ismael, he, dancing with his little feet, made way for a Spring to break forth, but the water coming forth in such abundance, and with such violence, that Hagar could make no use of it to quinch her thirst (which was then very great). Abraham coming to the place, comanded the spring to glide more gently, that water might be drawn out of it to drink, and having thereupon stayed its course with a little bank of sand, he took of it to make Hagar and the Child drink: the same spring is to this day call'd Zamzam, from Abraham making use of that word to stay it. We honour those Stones which they so Idolatrously worship, they are neither Mars, Bacchus, nor Venus. The last within the Cloisters or Court of the Caab, on the ground inclosed in an iron gate called

was saying of that great person, he that knows not how to go up the ladder shall never get up to the top of the house; that many things might be wished for, which a wise man camnnot hope for or pursue; that great designes are often frustrated when their Authors discover their greatness; let others cry this is good, this is fine, the prudent consider what is possible, what is requisite, and how to turn to advantage the successes of each day.

The Minds of the Agarens being sufficiently prepared by these circumstances, the principal among them resort to Aly and his companions, to be informed of the desires and comands of the Prophet. Aly first gives them an account of his Original, the Prodigies of his birth, the Miracles don by him, his conversation with the Angel Gabriel, the austerity of his Life, the incredible prudence of his deportment, the quality, vertue, and number of those that adhered to him, and whatever else might endear the Prophet to them, omitting nothing that might gain upon their Reason. He added that the Coran which Mahomet brought, was in general no other Doctrine then all the Prophets had taught: the summ of whose documents was that God alone was to be worshipped, and Idols exterminated. That this was the Religion of Noah, which he preached, and for contempt whereof the World was drowned, seventy-two persons (so the Arabians say) only escaping in the Ark. That this was the Doctrine which Salehus came to preach long ago to the Arabians betwixt Heiaz and Syria, in the Countrey of Heir (one of the tribes held to be totally extinct), --the Prophet Salehus came from God to the Tribe of Thamud or Thomud, comanding them to desist from the worship of Idols and associate Gods, and to worship only the true great God; few beleived the message, the rest demanded as a miracle that he would produce a camel out of such a rock, which Salehus did, and that camel foaled another, yet they persisted in their infidelity, and in contempt hamstring'd the camel, whereupon the Almighty caused a thunder to arise, and destroyed them all, the houses wherein they dwelt yet ramaining, which the Agarens were not strangers to. That this was the Doctrine which Abraham taught when he was banished their

don good, and not into the way of those upon whom thou hast poured out thy wrath, nor into that of such as thou sufferest to go astray." These and other prayers out of the Alcoran, repeated with great zeal and inward Sincerity, added much to the good opinion the people had of them and their Prophet. At their Prayers they turn'd their faces towards Meccha and the Caab, as if they paid as much Reverence to the Temple of Meccha, built by Abraham and Ismael, as ever Jew did to that of Jerusalem, which was interpreted by the Arabians as a Novelty, and liable to exception, till they were assured that the Kiblah was changed from Jerusalem to the Caab, and that it was the pleasure of Heaven that all Moslemin should pray towards the Temple of Ismael. This reason was satisfactory because it made for the glory of their Progenitor. They prayers the Moslemin went to again before bedtime, and those which they renew'd in the morning at break of day administered fresh cause of admiration and discourse, and the more for that it was observed that the Moslemin did express some signes of reverence to Venus, or the morning star, which had been an ancient Deity of the Arabians; and that in the subsequent week they did observe as a kind of Sabbath the Giuma or Frieday, which had been alwaies a day of weekly adoration to the Goddess Urania (portraied corniculate or with a crescent on her head) in Arabia. It is certain that in the whole Alcoran there is not any precept for the observation of this Giuma. Mahomet, understanding the wonted Superstition of the Arabians, continued the solemnity of the day, altering the object of their worship to that of the one great God; thus he retained the Lunulets upon the Mosques and in their ensignes, suggesting new reasons for Customs grown, sacred, and not to be abolished without hazard to his main designe. "*Cum igitur non institutum sed relictum a Mahumede fuerit Festum Giuma, quod Uraniae corniculatae sacrum est, a corniculata ejus & vetustissima effigie Lunalarus apud eos Honos manasse videtur.*" saith Selden, in his treatise *De Dijs Syris.* And it is agreed by the most knowing in the Oriental affairs that Mahomet resolved to make no greater change in Arabia then was necessary to his purpose, and did ingeniously accommodate to his ends those Superstitious usages which were imprinted in the breasts of the Ismaelites. It

empty and luxurious Expressions of it. They excused themselves upon this Conduct that it was not any Scorn of their Entertainment, or that they did not think themselves happy to have given so good a beginning to their Negotiations; but that the wisdom and felicity of Man cheifly consisted in Serving the great God, that the joy of this world was but Imposture, that a Man was to consider there was a time when he was not in being, and there would be a time when he should dye, that the intervall between both was so short, and so uncertain, that the only difference between Men was their good actions in this Life, and their rewards in the future; that he mistakes his Course who placeth his Confidence in any but God, and misplaceth his delights who takes pleasure in any thing but what is agreable to his Will.

After these and such like discourses, the sun beginning to decline, they desired the opportunity of a Retirement, and Water to wash themselves, wherein it was perticularly observed with what Care they wash'd their Eyes, Ears, Nose, Mouth, & Hands, for which they gave this reason, that tho' our knowledge, was bred in us by our senses which were as the windows to let in the Light, and if duly imployed were the Instruments of the Soul to discover the wonderfull works of God. Yet human Nature was so inclined to misapply them, and to be led by them into an Excess of sensuality, that Men ought to have a diligent watch over them, and to remind the Moslemin hereof, the Prophet had appointed them such Washings alwaies before their Prayers; and undoubtedly such memorials are not only efficacious to restrain Men from Vice, but very acceptable to God, being silent Testimonies of an Aversion from sin, and of a resolution to be cautelous for the future.

After this they went to their Sallah or Prayers. They begun with the solemn introduction of Allah, Allah, Howa Cobar Allah, then they proceeded thus in the words of the first Chapter of the Alcoran, "Glory be to the Lords of all Creatures (the Compassionate, the Merciful), the King of the last Judgment, we worship thee, we invoke thee, assist us in our necessities, lead us in thy wayes, bring us into the path of those to whom thou hast

Diadems, yet they more esteemed the goodness of their swords by which they seem'd to designe for each man a Royalty. Such was their Reverence to their Comander that one would have thought they had been all slaves, and could not retain a bold spirit under so imperious a General; but the dexterity of the Prophet shew'd that the prudent may be absolute without Tyranny or without regretting their subjects or enfeebling their spirits, that the Arts of Government consist not in the show but use of Authority, the true use whereof is to insinuate itself into men's affections or convince their Reason, not to impose upon their understanding or force their Will. The Coran, or the writing of Mahomet, accquainted the Agarens with the heavenly wisdom of the Prophet, and the carriage of his Emissaries convinced them of his soveraign prudunce and Conduct. They were astonished when they saw the Motto of this incomparable troop —"Dominion belongs to God alone"; and observed their Deportment when dismounted and disarm'd that they equalled the most pious Monks in their Devotions and the most liberal Princes in their Alms; that their Affability, Humility, and detestation of all Riot and Luxury and vain Glory was such as the world ought to receive as Examples, since no age had produced any for the Moslemin to act by, and they were their own presidents. But that which most endear'd this people to them was that at their first approach they saluted the people of Agra with that exclamation so well known to the Arabians— Allah, Allah, Howa Cobar Allah! (God, God, the great God!) and that they carried in their Standard the Lunulet or half Moon, the ancient Arms of the Ismaelites, which they had seen placed on the head of Asturte, or Ashtaroth, the great Goddess of Arabia and Syria, to whom these Countries had been imemorially devoted, and with which the Ismaelites used to adorn themselves and their Camels, as we find did Zaba (Saba) & Zalmunah, two Ismaelitish Kings (Jud. Viii. 21, 24), for so the Jews expound the Shahoronim in that place.

The Moslemin were received with all the expressions of joy & wlecome imaginable, yet they declared a greater satisfaction in the sense that they were welcome then in any

from or deseration of Meccha, but a Religious pilgrimage to the place where Ismael first settled himself and whence the Coreischites originally proceeded; he calls it the Hegira, or Journey, taken out of Devotion, and the Companions of his flight he intitles Almo Hajerin, or the devout Pilgrims. In this apellation he made use of a Paronomasia in which he alludes to the Nation of the Agarens, a warlike and potent people living thereabouts, called in Arabic Elhagiar, and by Strabo & Ptolomy Αγραιοι, Agrei, and their chief City Agra; of these mention is made in the Chronicles that the Hagarens were overcome by the Reubenites (I Chron, v. 10). Such another anagramatical Allusion he made use of in stiling his Sect Alislam, which consists of the same letters as Ismael, only transposed. These Agarens are mentioned in the Roman History for their valour. Trajan having carried his Conquests over all Persia, as far as the Indies, was repulsed here with great damage, and neither he nor Severus could subdue them. Of this nation of the Arabians Mahomet made a perticular Account, and sent to them to invite them to Islamism, for it was his Custom only to send to Princes to invite them thereto & they comonly submitted, yet I am inclined to think that Arguments and Motives were made use of by his Emissaries. And in a affair of this importance which required so much address as was requisite in the nonage of the Empire, I imagine Aly to have been employed in the Negotiation, who as he was most dextrous in such affairs, so he understood the sense of the Prophet. Besides his youthful Courage and Address in horsemanship made him most fit to excite this warlike Nation to so great an enterprise as the advancing the glory of Ismael and his descendants under the conduct of Mahomet.

Let us then fancy the galant Aly mounted upon as good a horse as that he used afterwards, call'd Duldall (Duldul) (which carried the Miller from Medina to Katchan in Persia, above 200 leagues distant in one night),. with a small but brave troop of Moslemin, martial in their aspect, grave in their Speech and Carriage, exact in their Discipline and obedience, armed not for show but service, and tho' they valued their Tulipants as

Ammar, Aves, Abuhanden, & Sohail, with many others, were cast into prison, and cruelly treated, the resolution with which they underwent their Tortures wrought effectually upon the comonalty, who pitied those that suffered so galantly, and could not without astonishment hear them in the midst of their torments Eccho out the Exclamation of "God, God, the great God, and Mahomet his Apostle." They saw that the Coreischites which opposed Mahomet were in profession at best but Idolaters, but really were men of no religion, affirming that God being allsufficient needed not any outward Testimonies of their Devotion, altho' for their own interest they persuaded the people that they might be secure of his benignity by freely propitiating the Associate Gods. It was in vain for the Coreischites to go about to excite others to a cordial defence of a Religion which they themselves seem'd not heartily to beleive, and 'tis probable that an Accident then lately happen'd and fresh in their Memories did not a little contribute to the contempt of the Idols and thereby to the reception of Mahomet. One Gawias Abu Abdoluzza, a Preist or Sacristain to one of their principal Idols, having one day by negligence not shut up the door, two foxes came in and . . . upon the Statue, he coming in and perceving what had hapned, thought that if the Idol was unable to avenge itself of the foxes, it was less able to help others, upon which he broke out into this expression: "Is he the Lord whose head the foxes defile, surely he is despicable. . . . Oh, yee Tribe of Salem (these were the worshippers of that Idol), assuredly this Statue doth yee neither good nor hurt, hee neither procures nor hinders your happiness," and having so said he broke the Idol in pieces. Mahomet honoured this man with a Memorial in his Alcoran, and changed his name, which signifies an erroneous person, or son of a worshipper of Uzza, an Arabian Deity, into Rashed Ebn Abu Rabohi, that is, an orthodox person, the son of one that worshipped his Lord.

While the affairs were in this posture at Meccha, and the Coreischites thus perplexed, Mahomet's difficulty was to adjust the interest of Meccha and the Caab to his new Religion. In order thereto he delclares that his journey to Medina was not a flight

to by the converts being also justified by the Mosaical president of circumecising Proselites.

Mahomet had Meccha frquently in his thoughts. He considered that place as the centre of Arabia and Metropolis of Arabia deserta; he knew of what importance it was to be Master of the cheif City, and that the sovereignty of Arabia were half gained if he could possess himself of that City. He had already gained the esteem of the populace, who reverenced him as a Prophet, and were satisfied of the truth of the Miracles related of him; they admired and perpetually sung his poetry, and thought it a great Honour to their Tribe & City to have so eminent a person among them. They were Witnesses of his Valour and Piety, and saw his deportment & the Doctrin he preached to be such as they needed not fear oppresion from his Cruelty. Extortation from his Avarice, nor Tyranny from his Government (for Tyranny does not consist in the unlimitedness of power, but in the extravagant use of it). The Military Men, Scienites and Nomades, saw in his religion all that could oblige them to him, since his designe will involve them in war which would furnish them with opportunities to gain Honour & Riches;. And the others who were Artisans and Tradesmen saw that under him they should find all encouragement and protection, since they should neither bee compell'd to Warr nor exhausted with burthens. They saw the resort to the Caab lessen'd, so that the continuance of these divisions would be o the ruin of their Honor and profit, and were otherwise very sensible of the troubles and Hazards of a Nation broken into factions each party wherein was weak and, which is worse, dissolute & insolent. They saw tho' the Rulers and prevailing party in Meccha were aginst Mahomet, yet the most upright, just, and popular were for him; that the Prophet retired from Meccha out of tenderness to the people lest they should be imbroyeled in civil Dissensions, and the Holy Caab defiled with blood; that Abubecr, Omar, Ostman, and Aly had relinquished all to adhere to him; and at Meccha divers friends of the Prophet who were imprisoned and tortured for befreinding and retaining a Veneration for him, were continual objects of their comiseration. Balal, Zohaib, Cabbah,

support their riotous living, and would themselves be apt to mutiny or disband upon any streights such as his Men would not be sensible of. He constituted for his Emirs or Generals four of his friends, Abubecr, Omar, Otsman, & Aly, to which last he gave his daughter Fatyma in marriage. Many resorted to him, and became Moslemin, for I do not read that he armed or disciplined any others, not thinking it safe to put Arms into the hands of new and unsetled friends. Besides that the populace thought it a happyness to be freed from so laborious and hazardous a service, and other Molestations, having liberty (upon paying only a moderate tribute) to attend their employements, and enjoy the exercise of their own Religion with security provided it were not idolatrous.

Here, at Medina, he wrote at sundry times the greatest part of his Alcoran. He also frequently preached to the people in the Temple or Mosque, leaning upon a column made of the body of a palm tree, but afterward he had a Desk made of tamarisk wood, with two steps to ascend up to it. Many of the Christians, even of the Monks, hearing in his Sermons and other discourses with what reverence he spoke of Isa, how he acknowledged him to be the Word and Spirit of God, tho' otherwise a Mere Man born miraculously of a Virgin, and how much he preached up Acts of Mercy, Justice, &c., did embrace Islamisme; and so did sundry of the Jewish Preists, induced by his injoyning of Circumcision, and his preaching against Idolatry and Polytheism. It was, indeed, a very ancient Custom among the Arabians to Circumcise their Children, it had been in use among them from the time of Ismael, if not before; but it was don in the thirteenth year, as Ismael was circumcised. Mahomet not only continued this Custom among the Ismaelites, but extends it to all, not out of complaisance to the Jews, who circumcise on the eighth day, as to continue an inveterate use among his own Countryeymen, the neglect whereof would have bred a great distast in that People; whereas his imposing thereof upon Forreigners becoming Musulmen imprinted a greater sense of the necessity of that Ceremony in the minds of Arabians, and was readily submitted

of the Greek Emperorors, had ruin'd and abolish'd all grandeur and extinguish'd their Universities, Patriarch, & Governments, they hoped by fomenting the cause of Mahomet, so to embroil Arabia that they might draw advantages from thence to aggrandise themselves, and at last either destroy Mahomet, or see him reduced to such Straits as should oblige him to turn to them and become Jew. But Mahomet was too politick to be deceived by the Jews; however he cajoled them, he trusted them least of all, and turned their designes upon their own heads.

He now begun to think of raising an Army, which he found would be necessary, and consequently Money to raise and maintain them. The security which he gave to the Jews and Christians, that they might live quietly under him without molestation brought a great deal of riches into the publick Treasury, and those Securities were observed with so inviolate a Faith that it was a great invitation to the next neighbours to come under his Government, and made those afar of wish him prosperity and increase of Empire. As to discipline, the Arabians had the repute of being the best and the most active Horsemen in the World; tho' their horses were lean, they were bold and well managed, they were fed with smal sustenance, and could endure the want of water in an extraordinary manner. The Exercises of the Arabians on horseback were to shoot an Arrow and spurring their horses to catch it before it came to the ground; to see an arrow shot at them and to avoid it by stooping, or hanging on either side of the horse as occasion required, and imediately put themselves again in a posture of defence, they would hit the lest visibe mark with Sling, Bow, or Javelin. Water was their constant drink; their food, course bread, the flesh of goats or camels, milk (new or sour), cheese, pulse, and especially rice, which Mahomet recommended to them as the most nourishing. Their diet was without Luxury, and the same at home and abroad, in feild and in garrison, by which his Forces were preserved in better health, and were easier sustained, and less burthensom & expensive whereever they marched or quartered, whereas the forces of an Enemy not so well disciplined would exasperate the Countrey to a Revolt by oppressing them to

CHAPTER-V

MAHOMET'S CONDUCT AT MEDINA, THE EMBASSY OF ALY TO THE AGARENS AND SARACENS

And now we see him seated at Medina, where he erected a Prophetical Monarchy, and intitling God and the Angel Gabriel to his Dictates he imprinted a greater awe thereof in his followers, and was more absolutely obeyed then force or Terror could otherwise make him. He declares that after Moses, the Jewish state being corrupt and apostatised from the Law given them by Moses, and grown wicked in their Lives, Isa was sent to reform them and all the world by a spirit of Meekness; that the Jews persecuted and would have crucified him, but that the divine Providence substituted a Phantasm in his stead, and so he was only put to death in Effigie, being really translated into Paradise, and that he should save all at the last day who beleive in him, mortify themselves to the World, and observe his Precepts. That God finding that the mildness of Isa had not proved effectual, had now sent him who was the Comforter promised by him, to protect his followers from further Perscution, and to propagate the doctrine of the Prophets and of Isa, who all taught that there was only one God ruling the world by his Providence, a rewarder of the just, & a punisher of evil-doers.

The Christians who had been so persecuted by Cosroes, and finding their Condition very uncertain amongst the Arabians, according to the humours or interests of the Governours, were glad of his Rise, and magnified his undertaking. No less pleased were the Jews, who being reduced to a mean Condition by reason that the wars of Persia, and the animosities & jealousies

Having now understood what Multitudes had promised to be faithful to him in Medina, he demeans himself with more assurance at Meccha. He declares that he is the Apostle of God sent to revive the glory of Ismael and the Religion anciently professed among, them. He comands all people to relinquish Idolatry, to destory their Idols, and worship only one God. He declares his Faith to be the true Faith. He injoins all to beleive the truth of the Apostles and Prophets, and to receive the sacred books (not declaring perticularly which they were). In favour of the Christians, he approved their Laws, and declared Christ to bee the Spirit of God and the word of God. The Christians finding such a declaration, entertained a favourable opinion of him, resorted to him, recomending themselves to his protection, and taking a Charter of security from him. He comended them for opposing Idolatory, as he did also the Jews, and never mention'd any of the Patriarchs, or Moses, Isa, or the Apostles, but with this honourable addition, "God's peace be upon him." These overt acts of Mahomet made the Coreischites think it more then time to put a stop to his proceeding by taking away his Life, which he being informed of thought it the most prudent way to avoid the blow by flight, in order to which he orders his followers to go out of Meccha in the evening, and to go to Medina, which they did, all except Abubecr and Aly, whom he retained with him. Putting himself upon the Road soon after with these last, he followed the rest toward Medina, whither they all safely arrived, notwithstanding his Enimies had sent out parties after him to cut him of, one whereof he escaped by hiding hiself in a Cave till the pursuit was over. He arrived at Medina the twelfth day of the month, which the Arabians call Rabia, the first which answers our 24th of September, where he was received with great Acclamations of his friends and lodged at the house of Chalid Abu Job, one of the cheif of the party who invited him thither, where he continued till he built a house for himself and a Mosque for the exercise of his new Religion.

friends and stedfast followers of his Religion did not exceed forty. Yet did not these difficulties abate the courage of Mahomet, he proceeded with a steddy resolution in the work of his Apostleship. Not longafter this, his party was strengthned by the addition of Seventy-three resolute men and two women, who came to him from Awas & Chezra. They came with great devotion and look Oath to the Prophet that they would live nad dye in the profession of the Faith of Ismael, their common parent & Patriarch and first propagator under Abraham of the Religion of 'Islamisme, or worship of one God. Mahomet, who knew well enough the importance of giving his party a specious Appellation, denominates his followers. Moslemin, or worshippers of one God, and his adversaries he calls Associates, invidiously enough if we consider what influence these Appellations would have upon such as look no further then the Names and appearance of things.

Out of these last he chooseth twelve as principals or Doctors, and, finding small hopes of making any progress at Meccha, sends them away to Medina to preach up his new Religion there, which they did so well, that in a short time a very considerable party there declared for him and promised to assist him. Medina, then called Yathrib, was the second City of Arabia deserta, distant from Meccha ten dayes Journey or 270 miles; the wayes were difficult to pass, and the situation thereof so convenient that he might upon any occasion retire into Yaman or Arabia faelix, or otherwise draw any converts or aid thence or even out of Persia. It is observable that the more remote the people are from the court, Church, or Chief City, the less Devotion they retain for them, and that frontier places by reason of the mixture of passengers and conflux of several Strangers, are more civil and gentle to all comers then the more inland Countries. Besides this, Medina was at that time divided into factions between the Jews and heretical Christians whereof the greatest part of the inhabitants was composed, both which contending parties were won by Mahomet, all which accidents contributed to his success there.

and profit seem'd now at stake. Mahomet, on the other hand, did all he could to strengthen his aim. To this end he contracts a marriage with Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekr, who was a man of great power and interest among the Coreischites, and used all manner of addres to increase his party. Yet the number of those who firmly adhered to him was but small, and he knew very well that the respects of the Vulgar not cemented to him by religious Tye was too mutable to hazard the success of any lasting dangerous Designe upon their affections. He made sallies into the Countries and endeavoured to draw them into his party, wherein he so far prevailed that altho' he could not engage them into his Religion or defence, yet by his demeanour and his eloquent and sage apophthegms he confirmed them all in the opinion that he was a Prophet. He daily spread abroad relations of his discourses with God and his Conferences with the Angel Gabriel, and used such a Sagacity in discoverring all Plots and Councils held against him, that his followers beleived God almighty did reveal all to him.

Tho' he had not yet gained a strength sufficient to make any attempts, yet he had drawn the jealousy of the Coreischites upon him, so that the Magistrates of Meccha used their endeavours to destory him, and made a Decree forbidding all men to joyn themselves to him; but all their attempts were vain, during the life of his Uncle Abutalib, the reputation of that prudent and ancient person having made the populace conceive the better opinion of Mahomet for his having been protected and countenanced by him, who had taken that perticular care of him as to forbid any to approach the presence of the Prophet having a sword or any ofensive weapon about him. But after his death, who dyed at about Eighty years of Age, and about the ninth or tenth year after Mahomet's first appearance as Prophet, the government of Meccha falling into the hands of Abusofian, the son of Hareth, of the house of Ommia (who was one of the most violent opposers of Mahomet), this advantage strengthned the prosecution against his and his followers, which terrified some so far as to desert his party and hindred all others of that place from becoming his Proselites, so that the number of his constant

people an Opinion that he was a Prophet, which he the more fomented in them by framing his Poems to the great God, magnifying him in his discourses, and frequently in publick crying, "Allah, Allah, Howa Cobar Allah!" (God, God, the great God!). Having given these Testimonies of his Piety, and in his discourses inlarging in the defence of the Unity of the Deity, by which he had in a great measure prepared the mind of the people, he begun openly to inveigh against the mediator Gods or Idols erected in and about the Caab.

He told them that the Caab was the Temple of the great God, that Abraham and Ismael had dedicated it to his worship alone, that the introduction of the idols was a novel practice; that the Prophets and Patriarchs especially Abraham, Isaac, and their Father Ismael, did worship God without associating any with him; that all associating of others with the great God either in worship or Essence, or in both, was Idolatry, and therefore the Coreischites and other Arabians who did worship those Idols were Idolators : so were those Christians who either held a Trinity of persons or Trinity of Gods, or did hold the Deity of the Virgin Mary: so were also those Jews who did associate Ozair or Ezra to the great God. He affirmed God had neither son, daughter, nor associate. He quoted Locman, or Luqman, who was in great Creidit among the Arabians, for his witty apophthegms and Fables, and whom most of the learned imagine to be Aesop, the author of the "vulgar" Fables; but Mahomet either feign'd or met with other Stories of him. He fixeth him in the time of King David, and introduceth him, giving this advice to his son, "Oh, son, do not thou joyne with God any Companion."

These discourses occasion'd Mahomet a great deal of trouble, for the chief of the Coreischites, the Rulers of Meccha and others that were devoted to Idolatry and Sabyism, begun to resent these proceeding,s some opposing him out of Religion, and others out of interest, fearing that this Doctrine might destroy the glory of the Caab, and prevent the usual resort to it, and so extinguish the repute of the Coreischites, whose Honour

Now begun all Arabia the desert to ring with the Fame of Mahomet, and (Otsman and Aly being his Secretaries) his divine Poems were divulged, then which nothing was ever received with greater Applause. The Arabians were great admirers of Poetry, songs were their pandects, their Laws and Chronicles were written in Verse, and when any Poet had gain'd renown above others, all his Tribe kept a publick festival, the drums were beaten and publick processions made to him by men, women, and children, to congratulate him. As the excellency of his poetry charmed some especially the younger sort, so those who were more grave no less admired him for his austere Mortified Life. In token of his humility. and to shew how great an Enemy he was to Luxury, he alwaies wore woolen Garments (a garb said to be used by the ancient Prophets); he also lodged comonly upon Mattresses, whence he had that doubld apellation, of "the man clothed in woolen" and "the man that lodgeth on the Mattress." 'Tis true, the Christians say, he lodged thus because he was troubled with epileptick fits; but what is that to his garb or lodging, those fits seize the patient in any place, and most seldom when he is laid down. The reason that hinders me from beleiving this story of Mahomet's fits is that I find no account of this matter in the Arabian writers, tho' Christians.

I grant he might either naturally or by some other unknown causes frequently fal into Extasies, and lye intranced, but as this differs much from the falling Sickness, so neither could it be an accident in the lest strange or incredible among the Arabians, who doubtless had learn'd examples of the like from the Jews and Christians concerning the Extasies of the old Prophets and of Paul. It has been believed in other Countries, as wel as Arabia, that some men might fall into such Raptures and might converse with Angels. I find of late that Cardan and his father could fall into them when they pleased, and I am apt to beleive that the illustrious Cardinal Ximenes sometimes did the like.

Let us then imagine that in all these Case nothing befel, nothing was don by Mahomet but what served to imprint in the

Nazarenes and Churches planted by Peter had their peculiar Gospel, I have already shew'd.

Whilst the esteem of Mahomet thus began to grow, and that the people look'd upon him as an extraodinary person, the death of Mauritius with its odious Circumstances having taking of from the value of Christianity, and Cosroes having destroyed all the Christians in Persia, or made them revolt to Nestorianism, and having wasted and made desolate Palestine, Jerusalem, Syria, and Egypt, and those Arabians who usually adhered to the Christians, and served for pay, being discontented that Mauritius first, and then Phocas, denied them their salaires, and that they were involved in the troubles and Calamities which Cosroes brought upon the Christians,Mahomet discovered a fit opportunity to erect a new Empire among the Coreischites. It did not a little contribute thereto that the other Arabians of Yaman had joyned with Cosroes and shared in the rich Booties of Egypt. After this Heracluis having murthered Phocas and gained the Throne, he marched against Cosroes, whom he defeated in three general Battles and carried the war into Persia, having in his Army a brigade of the Scenites, or desert Arabians, comanded by Abubecr. These misfortunes did create such troubles in Persia, that Cosroes resigned his Kingdom to Medoroses, one of his sons; but Siroes, his other son, disgusted at this, puts his Father to death, assumes the Crown, and makes an ignominious peace with the Emperor. Now were the inhabitants of Yaman miserably divided, and broken into Factions, and disquieted with the troublesome consequences of so disastrous a War. Those Scienites who had served valiantly under Heraclius, finding no acknowledgements proportionate to their Merits, were sufficiently discontented. Mahomet hereupon gains to his Friendship Abubecr, surnamed the Just, Omar and Osman, all persons of great power and esteem among the Coreischites; they were men of mortified Lives, and so unconcerned in ambitious Aims and private Ends, that they were able to give any party a luster, and to any cause the face of justice and piety.

By way of gratitude to his Uncle Abu Talib, he contracted a particular friendship with young Aly, his son, and instructed him in writing and all manner of knowledge. Aly was of a brown complexion, a little man with a belly somewhat large, he had a contempt of the world, its glory and pomp, he feared God much, gave many alms, was just in all his actions, humble and affable: of an exceeding quick wit, and of an ingenuity that was not comon, he was exceeding learned, not only in those sciences that terminate in speculation, but those which extend to practice. In his company did Mahomet spend much of his time, and Ali was so surprised with the extroaordinary Abilities of his Cousin that he did believe him to be no less than a Prophet. Nor was it an unusual thing for prophets to arise and to be owned in Arabia, the comon Traditions, of the Nation and the Sabian principles did incline them to beleive it possible that under certain configurations of the Stars, a Prophet might be born and that he might do great Miracles, certain it is they were much addicted to judiciary Astrology; and there is a tradition that the Nativity of Mahomet had been calculated, and it had been predicted, by a Jewish Genethlia that he should be a great Prophet and Prince. Abu Maason saith of him, in defence of those who write that he was born in the latter end of the night as Elmachin &c., *necessario fuisse Mahumedem fuisse natum in fine Noctis quando libra medium Caeli teneret, media nocte vero meridiem transijsset signum Tauri, alias enim Prophetiam et Principatum ei competere non potuisse,* neither was it held unusual among them for a Prophet to bring his Coran or Sacred Writ derived from God, as they held that Edris and Seth did, so did Zaradast or Zoroaster, Moses aldo his Laws, and Isa and his Apostles their Gospels, so did Manes, the auther of the Sect of the Manichees, a sect diffused thro' Persia and Arabia even at that time, which they avowed to be the incorrupt word of God; nor were the Manichees singular herein, the Gnosticks, Nicolaitans, Velentinians, Montanists, and others of those early sects had their sacred writs, which they reverenced and contemned as spurious, the Testament or Canon of the Trinitarians; and that the

would have put him to any inferiour duties whom she from the beginning designed for her husband. Mahomet thus added to the splendor of his family the Riches and power of Chodeja.

She had an Unkle called Warekeh or Varkah, who understood Hebrew or Syriac and could write the character, him she employed to teach Mahomet to write, for among the Coreischites scarce any could write at all—the invention of Arabick letters was then but new, having been invented by one Moramer (Maram, son of Marrah), improved by one Eba Mocklah, about 300 years before Mahomet, and afterwards perfected as they are now by Ali Eba Borea, of the Arabian Tribe, thence they were propagated to the Cendian tribe, and by one Bashar (Bashshar) introduced at Meccha a little before the original of Mahomet. He imediately accquainted himself with this new character, and added much to his repute that he seemed ignorant of nothing. In sundry places he had conversed with the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Arrians, by them he had been informed of the vanity of Idols and Talismans, of the Unity of Godhead, Providence, Virtue and Vice; by conversing with the Jews and Jewish Christians, he became very well versed in the Scripture, the doctrine of the old and new Testament, and the Traditions of the several sorts of Christians, especially of those Judaising Churches which Peter had planted all along from Jerusalem to Babylon and thro' Mesopotamia, nor is this all which I find written of him, for Rodericus Toletanus assures me that he was well acquainted with natural Philosophy. In fine the Arabians had such an esteem of his univeral knowledge, that they beleive he understood all things; tho' the Arabians did much affect the glory of being eloquent and excellent Poets, yet in those qualities did Mahomet surpass them all as well in the sublimity of thoughts and witiness of parables and apologues, as in the choice of words and Phrase and harmony of Numbers. To all which his learning and education had much contributed. Being asked how he attained to so refined a language, he told them that he had learned it from the Angel Gabriel, who had taught him the dialect of Ismael himself. Thus Mahomet gain'd upon the admiration and esteem of all men.

so as to be recalled when Allah pleaseth), is in Love with Chadija the daughter of Chowailed (Khalid), and she likewise with him, whatsoever is demanded by way of Dowry I will see it settled."

I think I follow the most probable Story by placing Chadija in Syria, tho' she were a Coreischite, but it makes nothing to the prejudice of my Narration if Chadija bee supposed to live in Meccha, and there (upon a dream) fall in love with Mahomet, and invite him upon a large Salary to oversee her Estate, and conduct her Merchandise into Syria and Egypt. The Arabians acknowledge the poverty of their Prophet, and for his being retained in her service, they plead that it had often been the fortune of such as God hath designed for his Prophets, and the greatest Dignities, that they should arise from Servitude to Empire, and by a long practise of obedience learn to comand. That Joseph was a servant in Egypt, and Moses in Madian (Madain). That Nobility is not extinguished by poverty. That Noah was a carpenter; that Isa (so they call Jesus Christ, and so I shall name him in the subsequent Story) was of the same trade. That since the Nobility of his extraction is not questionable, 'tis malice and envy to upbraid him with his employment as it it had been servile and mean, which if it had been really so, this objection would not have become the followers of Isa. That Mahomet had rendered eminent testimonies of his valour in the Wars, and might have been rich if he would have been less generous or more rapacious and extorting. But that in reality there is nothing of contumely in what they upbraid Mahomet with, that he was but a Camel driver; if wee consider that the wealth of the Arabians consisted much in Camels, which they made use of in carrying their Merchandises (imported to them by the Red Sea from India and Ethiopia) to Syria and Egypt, as the Ismaelites their Ancestors formerly did, the most illustrious and richest of their Nobles usually attending their own business, and driving or feeding them themselves. Nor is it imaginable that he was an inferiour servant of Chadija, his spirit would not have submitted to it, nor would his Uncles being such quality and riches have suffered in; neither, indeed, is it likely that Chadija

into Spain (A.D. 605), where he found the Kingdom unsettled in Religion; for the Goths, having been from the beginning of their Christianity zealous Arrians, were by their King Recaredus forced to turn Trinitarians (A.D. 589), and it not being so easy to extirpate inveterate opinions as to alter the profession of them, the populace and many others retained their former sentiments; and after the death of Recaredus, endeavours had been made (A.D. 603) to resettle Arrianism. He finding matters in this condition, is said to have endeavoured to instil into that Nation some of his principles, but that the return of St. Isidore from Rome (whose esteem and power in that Countrey was very great) obliged him to return the same way he came.

This Voyage gave him a opportunity of seing the weakness, the Secret Animosties, and factions of the Christians, not only in Spain, but in Affrick (where were the remains of the Donatists and Arrian Vandals) and Egypt, and I suppose it was in this Voyage that he discovered the plantation and use of Rice, wherewith he acquainted his Countreymen, recomending it to them as an excellent nourishing durable food, for which he was so honoured, that it is stil a tradition among them, that Mahomet being in Paradise (before his assuming the character of a Prophet) and compassing the Throne of God, fell into a sweat, and one drop falling from him to the Earth produced rice, and another became a rose. After his return, Chadija married him; and it being the Custom of the Arabians that the husband should endow his wife upon marriage, his fortunes not being proportionable to the quality and riches of Chadija, I find that Abutaleb made her a dowry of twenty camels, and twelve ounces of gold, adding this Speech, "Glory be to God who hath caused us to descend from Abraham, and to be of the race of Ismael, who hath given us the holy land to possess, and the Caab to keep, whereto piligrims from all places resort, and hath also made us Judges, and Rulers in our Countrey. Mahomet my Nephew, the son of Abdalla, with whom none of the Coreischites can compare for virtue, bravery, glory, understanding, and wit, altho' his riches do not equal his birth and accomplishments (in truth, riches are transitory as a shadow and lent to us by Heaven

Returning home as well educated as was possible, and being perfected in all the martial Exercises of the Arabians, about twenty years old, he gave great proof of his valour and conduct in a fight between the Coreischites and the Tribe of Kais Aylan, which happen'd in the Month Moharra, at what time it was unlawfull for the Arabians to fight or molest each other, it being the time of pilgrimage to the Ćaab, whence the Arabians call it the wicked Warr.

After this his Military Genius, not permitting him to live idle at home, whilst many of his Countreymen served in the Christian Armies, he went into the field under his Uncle Abubecr, who comanded a brigade in the Christian Service, for altho' the Arabians were not Tributaries or subject to the Christians or Persians, yet their Countrey lying between both Empires, some of their Princes confedereted with one, and some with the other, according as their situation made them obnoxious, and served either Prince upon certain conditions. Here he accomplish'd himself in civil and military Prudence, and withal discovered the divisions and weakness of the Christians.

During his stay abroad in Syria, a Noble Lady being a widdow, altho' for her riches and quality she had been courted by sundry Arabian Princes, yet having fallen in love with Mahomet, or directed by a vision, invites him to relinquish the Warr, and live with her, promising him a noble maintenance and to accommodate him, in order to further Travels, with a large Cargo that he might imporove his intellectuals and Estate together. He who thought according to the opinion of his Countrey that merchandise might very well consist with nobility, accepted of the overture, nor is this more to his disparagement then it is to the Nobles of Venice or Genoa. We find some of the greatest men have not thought it below them, such were Vespasian, Pertinax, Tarquinius, Priscus, among the Romans, and even of late Spinola. Being thus accomodated, he made several advantageous expeditions to Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, and curiosity or ambition prompting his great Spirit he undertook a voiage further into Affrick, from whence he passed

the most noble Tribe of the Choreischites; his father's name was Abdalla (Abdullah), his mother was named Amena or Emena, both of that Tribe. He was born at Meccha; and his father being curious to have his Nativity calculated, it was predicted that he should be exceedingly advanced by the propagation of a new Law and Monarchy. Not long after his birth, his father died; and his mother afterwards dying, when he was about six years old, his grandfather, Abdolmutaleb (Abdul Muttalib), took care of him; but he dying within two years after, Recommended the care of his Education to Abutaleb (Abu Talib), uncle of Mahomet, being one of the younger sons of Abdolmutaleb, & brother of Abdalla, the father of Mahomet.

The Mahometans relate several Miracles which happened at his birth, but would be too tedious to mention in this place. During his infancy he gave pregnant signs of a Singular Nature, great Wit, and good behaviour. His uncle gave him all the instruction the Countrey could afford, which being then divided into several Religions of the Christians, Trinitarians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Arrians, Idolaters, and Jews, and these each as it were refracting one the other (as contrary Elements do upon mixture), he was not ignorant what opinions each of these held.

So soon as Mahomet was of years sufficient to endure the fatigue of a Journey, his Uncle Abutaleb having occasion to go to Jerusalem and Damascus with Merchandises, took our young Mahomet with him as well, to instruct him in the way and manner of traffick as to perfect him in his Education. It was in this Journey, that being arrived at Bozra on the frontiers of Syria, and being in the market, Bahira, a learned Monk of that place, espy'd him, and imediately knowing him to be the great Prophet that was to come, made way thro' the Croud, and taking him by the hand, said that he was a prodigious Youth, that his renown should fill both the Eastern and Western World, and foretold those great things of him which afterwards came to pass. The Mark which Bahira knew him by, some say, was a Cloud overshadowing him; other say that it was a prophetic light or Glory which shined on his face.

CHAPTER-IV·

CONTEYNING THE TRANSACTIONS FROM THE BIRTH OF MAHOMET TO HIS FLIGHT FROM MECCA

Whilst the Grecian Empire (as we have before observed) was unsettled by the frequent change of Emperors and the detestable means by which Phocas had gained the Throne, having alienated many from the Love of Christianity; the Eastern Church being divided into Factions, upon the occasion of the Bishop of Rome promoting his new Authority there, and the Nestorians & Jacobites or Eutychians multiplying under their several Patriarchs to the great disturbance of the Church, anathematising and being anathematised, and the Bishops on all sides being more imployed in their vain Contest then in the care of their Flocks, whereby the people were overrun with ignorance and immersed in debauchery; whilst Persia was broken by intestine division and wars, and the people indifferent as to their Princes who should Rule them, and divided by the Mixture of Jews and Christians spread among them in great Numbers,-- Mahomet arose and begun a new Religion and Empire. And in reference to him, you will find as little integrity in the Christian narratives as in any before: I would exaggerate the matter higher, if I could, but 'tis capable of no greater aggravation, but that the most dissolute Christians did publish as great untruths in their times, as did they who passed for Saints. I proceed now to the particular narration about the birth and actions of Mahomet.

Mahomet was born about others in the year of Christ 570. Some place it in 580, 600, 620; but I follow the most probable Account, since it is generally agreed that he was forty years old in the year 610, at which time, he began his Prophesy. He was of

compell'd all Christians in his Dominion to turn Nestorians upon pain of death, and set up a Nestorian Patriarch at Mansel or Musal, as I have before shewn; and then, if we consider how subject Arabia was to his power, we may reasonably beleive that the Arabian Christians, and such as had fled thither at several times, did turn to that opinion, But notwithstanding these Revolutions, the Reverence to the Caab did stil in great part continue. Its Idols were not all this while destroyed, but a worship paid to them, it being incident to human Nature oftentimes to change their Religion in obedience to their Princes; but inveterate Superstitions are not so easily exterminated as the outward Profession of Religion altered. But undoubtedly the great support of this Idolatry was the pwer of the Coreischites, who having the Custody of the Caab and having great advantages from the pilgrimages made to it, their Interest easily persuaded them to continue in their old way of Worship and to do all they could to keep it up from falling into contempt and decay. For tho' all men do not speak so plain as the Ephesian Silver Smith, yet whatever outward pretences are made use of, wee find that Interest is the Secret spring which governs the Motions of Mankind.

built a Christian Church at Saanah in that Countrey, to forward the progress of the Christiah worship and to divert the people from their pilgrimages to the Caab. But the generality of the Inhabitants obstinately retained their ancient Reverence for Meccha, and had this new Church in great detestation and contempt (insomuch that some of them . . . themselves therein and otherwise defiled it). Whereupon Abrahah swore he would destory the Caab, for which purpose he marched with his Army directly towards Meccha; but when he approached Meccha, they say the Elephant he rode on, called Mahud, kneeled down and refused to go forward, tho' he went cheerfully any other way; and withal that great flocks of birds carrying each three Stones, one in their beak and one in each foot, let them fall upon the heads of his followers, which, although they were no bigger than peas, were yet so heavy as to strike through Helmets, men, and elephants, so that the survivors relinquished their Attempt, and the Arabians who usually computed their years from some remarkable Accident, begun a new Account from the year of the Elephant. Yet still the Abyssyne Princes kept their footing in Yaman till after Mahomet was born, and not long before he begun to declare himself. The Inhabitants of Yaman then address'd themselves to Heraclius the Greek Emperor for aid against the Abyssynes; but he refusing it, as being unsettled in his Empire, Anusherwan, King of Persia, releived them, and gain'd so much power in Yaman that he appointed them their Kings out of the Natives. It is here to be noted that the Christian writers call him Cosroes, whom the Arabians and Persians call anusherwan, for Cesra or Cosroes was a comon Name to all the Kings of Persia of that Race.

As to the inhabitants of Arabia petraea and deserta I find they embraced Christianity in the time of Al Nooman, the Son of Al Mondar, and, according to our Ecclesiastical History, under a Queen called Mauvia, in the reign of Valentinian and Valens. And then they were Trinitarians, and made War upon the Arrians; afterwards they turned Jacobites, and in the reign of Justinian persecuted the other Christians in their behalf. Upon the Murther of the Emperor Mauritius, Cosroes, King of Persia,

of the Race of Alhareth el Caab, for those people made no Pilgrimages, nor reverenced the Caab, nor observed religiously any times or places as sacred.

This was the condition of Arabia, if we abstract from perticuler Conquests and the mixtures of Religion arising from the Jews who dwelt among them ever since the dispersion of Babylon, and the Christians whom either Peter converted to Christian Judaism, or which fled thither to avoid the several persecutions under the Roman Emperors in Egypt and Syria. Of the Christians, 'tis notorious that the Nestorians and Jacobites or Eutychians were dispersed through these provinces; Arrianism was also propagated that way, all those parts being infected from the Academy at Alexandria and the neighbouring Bishopps of that persuasion. 'Tis true nothing was more tenacious of their old Rites then the Arabians, but withal none more prone to admit of novel opinions under the specious colour of Religion; and it being natural for men by cohabitation to infect each other with a mixture of Devotion, as diseases are propagated by contagion, it is reasonable to beleive that great numbers of them did imbibe several of the Christian and Jewish doctrines. Thus 'tis very probable that the Arabians who were possessed with an Opinion of their being descended from Abraham and Ismael, did pay a great respect to the Jews, who were spread through their Country, as proceeding from the same comon Father, and making use of the same Ceremony of Circumcision (for it was alwaies a part of the Religion of the Arabians, as wel as of the Cholchi & Egyptians, to circumcise, but not till 13 years old, as Ismael was circumicised), yet not so as to relinquish their ancient Worship and pilgrimages to the Caab.

Thus about 700 years before Mahomet those of Yaman did turn Jews; and about 70 years before Mahomet, their King, Du Nowas, did compel all to Judaism, and burnt the Dissenters, many whereof were such mungrel Christians as that Age usually produced. Whereupon to vindicate the Christians the King of the Abyssynes invaded Yaman, conqured the Countrey and reigned there about twenty years. The second of the Abyssyne princes or Governours there, Abrahah Al Asharan, Viceroy to the Negush,

of that sent down from Heaven, which Temple erected by Seth being destroyed by the Deluge, Abraham and Ismael by the comand of God did afterwards build a Temple in the same place, an Angel showing them the ground and Model. This Temple was kept up by the succeeding Arabians. Whilst it was in the possession of the Tribe of Chozaah, Idols were first brought into it, viz. Hobal, Asaph, and Nayela, by King Amrus, who being of Yaman and a Sabian that they were Talismanical is no doubt. Afterwards, about 700 years before the birth of Mahomet, Abu Corb Assad, a king of Yaman, beautified it with stately Curtains. So great, so general was their Veneration for this Temple, that when the Tribe of Gatsan built another Temple to themselves in imitation of the Caab, the other tribes for that reason did make warr upon them and destroyed their schismatical Edifice. In this Temple were a multitude of Idols undoubtedly accomodated to the Superstition of every Tribe. Within was Abraham's Statue, attended with a multitude of Angels and Prophets, and on the outside were ranked 360 Idols, among which were Hobal, Asaf, and Nayela. Hobal (which perhaps imports Habaal, the great Baal or Bel) was the chief, being a red Statue shaped like a man, holding seven unfeather'd Arrows in his hand. Asaf was also like a man, and Nayela like a woman. These two are said to have been turned into Stones for having comitted fornication together in the Caab. Hither did all the Tribes make pilgrimages, and in order to it did solemnly devote themselves. Sometimes they went round the Temple in a kind of procession, and came betwixt Safa and Mervah, two Stones at the foot of two mountains near Meccha, distant from each other about 780 Cubits. They professed their reverence to the great God, and some also to his associates, as each perticuler person fancied, saying: "Thou hast no Companion or Associate besides . . . who is at thy disposal together with all that is devoted to him." Thus they went thro' each Station offering their Gifts and casting Stones in certain places. The Arabians did all agree to set certain Months apart for this Religious performeance, in which it was unlawful for any tribe to make war on another, or for any Man to molest another. This they all did except the Tribe of Tai and Cathaam, and some

center of Arabia, and, which is more, had the keeping and were Edily or a kind of Preists of the Alcaab, Caaba, Kabe, or Caba, as it is diversely called, which was a Temple universally reverenced by the Arabians, and the chief place of their Devotions. 'Tis said that formerly it had been in the keeping of the Tribe of Chozaah of the ancient Arabick Tribes of the race of Joctan, who were sometime Inhabitants of Yaman, but being forced out of their Habitations by an innundation caused by the breaking of the banks of the lake of Aram, they came and settled themselves in the valley of Marry, near Meccha, and from thence were called Chozaites, which significes cutting of, they being by this change seperated and, as it were, cut of from the rest of their kindred. Here in a little time they grew so puissant as to render themselves Master of Meccha and of the Caab or Temple there, and kept the same for severall Ages, till at last falling into the hands of Abu Gabshan, a simple, weak Man, he sold the same for a bottle of wine to Coza, a Koreischite, for which foolish bargain he was aferwards very sorry and angry with himself, from whence the Arabian Proverbs, "More vexed then Abu Gabshan," and "More foolish than Abu Gabshan" (which they apply to such wise dealers and late repenters), derive their original. The Government of the City and Custody of the Temple of Meccha being thus settled in the Tribe of Coreischites, they kept the same notwithstanding the endeavours of the Chozaites to the contrary, descending in a right line from Cosa even down to Mahomet.

The Alcaab was so called either from its eminence or height, or because it was a square building. It is also called Albait Alharan, or the prohibited house of Refuge. They report that Adam being cast out of Paradise desired of God that he might build such a house as he had seen in Heaven, towards which he might pray, and which he might compass about in his Devotions, as the Angels and spirits do about that celestial Mansion; that thereupon God sent down a glorious Light, imbodied and shaped in the form and Model which Adam desired. After the decease of Adam, his son Seth erected a fabrick of Clay & stone in the same place according to the Model

Saby, but even to the rise of Mahomet, who often Mentions them.

As to the Inhabitants of Arabia petraea, I have already shew'd that they were of the Religion of the Saby. I shall only add that they were esteemed the meanest and most despicable Tribes, in so much that Alnabat, or Nabateus in Vulgar speech, signified a mean and despicable person.

I come now to speak of the inhabitants of Arabia the desert, which as it had been the seat of Ismael, so the Inhabitants pretended to a Nobility even above those of Yaman. Of all the Tribes of the Ismaelites, the Koreischites were the most illustrious: their military Condition made them proud; their poverty made the conquest of them as little worth the while to attempt as their situation and inaccessibility would have rendered the Accomplishment thereof difficult, so that their speech was more refined, and their glory less stained, then that of the other provinces; and whether the people honoured the name, or that the name was given as a title of Honor to the people, a Koreischite signified proverbially a Gentleman of Quality, as did Alnabat an inferior person, it being the general tenet of the Arabians that the Koreischites are the most noble of all the Arabian Tribes, as Erpenius and Hottinger affirm. And notwithstanding the distinction of the pure Arabians and Mosta Arabs (which Abulfeda saith was most generally used by the Saracens of his time), yet there want not good Authors who believe the ancient tribes of the pure Arabians to have been extinct, and that all the Arabian Tribes recorded as in being since the Saracen Records are originally strangers to the Countrey, some being called Mota Arabs, the progeny of Joctan; others Mosta Arabs, as coming from a remote place; nay, some say that Joctan was of the race of Ismael, and certain it is they own that none of them can deduce their genealogy beyond Adnanus, a descendant of Ismael. If so the Koreischites must have been the Noblest Tribe of all, however it is certain that at the time of Mahomet they were the most illustrious Tribe; they were possessed of Meccha, the metropolis of Arabia deserta, which the Arabians call the Mother of their Cities, and inhabited in the

under our Hemisphere, they therefore proposed to retain their influence, and preserve their benevolent power, by lodging it in some Statue or Image made of a mettal and figure agreable to this or that Planet; the dayes, hours, degrees, minutes, and all other circumstance being astrologically observed in order thereto, and such sigillations, prayers, Incantations, suffumigations, attire, &c., being used as were appropriate, hereby they fancied they should alwaies have their Mediators ready to assist them, and these images they call'd vicegerents, in reference to the celestial Mediators, by whose interposition man was to propitiate their superior Planets. This is the sum of their Religion, and the foundation of all that Idolatry which diffused its self thence to Chaldaea, Egypt, and all parts of the world, the Chaldaean discipline being the same with this, and the Persian Magi having no other Originall. It will be too great a digression in this place to give a perticular Account of their Religion and Customs, so that in what is to come I shall observe only what may conduce to my principal designe.

The Saby rejected the Jewish Canon or sacred Books, & relied on those which they deduced from Edris, Seth, and other their Patriarchs and Prophets. They said that Noah preached against their Images and worship of Mediators, and therefore they generally spoke against him. Abraham also they say was banished by them for opposing their Image worship and Talismans. They shaved their heads close, abstained from the bloud of Animals, esteeming it the food of Daemons, yet some would feed thereon that they might contract an Affinity and correspondence with them.

The principal place for their Devotion was near the City of Harran or Carr, which Abulfeda calls the City of the Saby, yet they did preserve a great esteem and Reverence for the Caab at Meccha; they kept sundry Fasts whereof one consisted of thirty dayes. It is observed that many precepts in the Levitical Law were purposely enacted by Moeses in opposition to these Saby, that the Israelites might not be ensnared in their wayes. They continued in repute not only to the dayes of Gregory Nazienzen, the inhabitants of whose Diocess were generally

in a subordination to their influences it was necessary that there should be other intermediate visible Bodies, as the Celestial Planets (for these they principally address'd themselves to, tho' some had an equal reverence for the fixed Stars), which they imagined to be the sacella or Mansions of these Intelligences by which the planetary bodies were animated, as our bodies are with our Souls. Upon this account they observed diligently their houses, stations, rising, setting, conjunctions, oppositions, benevolent or malevolent Aspects; they assigned to them dayes, nights, and hours; they ascribed to them figures and shapes, and subjected Regions and particular persons, to them, and this induced them to the making of prayers and incantations, and engraving of Seals with certaiin figures or characters, under the influence of such and such perticular Planets, as, for example, if upon Saturn's day (which was their last day of the week, denominating each day from the Planets as wee do) a man came to pray to him at the first hour, having his Seal on, made according, to Art, and suitable to that Planet, and he clothed in a fitting garb, and making use of a convenient form of prayer, whatever he should ask that is in the disposal of Saturn it should be granted to him, so for the rest of the Planets whom they called Lords and Gods. And by this gradual Ascent from the Creatures to the Creator, from visible to invisible things, they did intermediately proceed to the Intelligences and supreme Deity. And from hence arose that fabrick of Talismans which was in so much use among the Arabians, Egyptians, and other Oriental Nations; whereto they attributed such power, and by which Apollonius Tyanaeus is said (by the Christians) to have effected his Miracles.

Upon the same sentiments did others of the Saby proceed, who yet went higher, so as to erect Statues and Images to those lesser Deities to intercede for them: they supposing it necessary for Man (who is liable to so many contingent Necessities) to have his Mediator alwais ready, that he might have recourse to him. And seing that these planetary bodies (the Chappels of the glorious Intelligences) were itinerant and moveable, sometimes rising, sometimes setting, sometimes continuing

dialect of Koreischites. The progeny of Jactan had at first the preheminence, and a kind of Rule which they might well challenge, not only upon the Account that they received Ismael as a stranger, and his progeny the Mosta-arabs were but a mixt Race, as because of their strength, number, and Riches, which arose from the fertility and opulency of their Country, which was Yaman or Arabia faelix, whereas the Ismaelities inhabited the barren poor Countrey of Jathreb and the desert Arabia.

The inhanbitants of Yaman were called Sabei, or Saby, from Saba, the son of Yashab, the son of Yaarab, the son of Joctan. They avow'd that their Religion was exceeding ancient, that it was descended from Enock (whom they call Edris) and Seth, and they pretended to have the books of Seth preserved down to them from all Antiquity. Undoubtedly, this was the Religion which Abraham professed when he was in Haran, in Mesopatamia, before God is said to have reclaimed him, this being the general religion of that Countrey, as also of the Nabataei or Inhabitants of Arabia petraea, and of the Chaldeans; nay, Maimonides tells us it was diffused over the face of the whole Earth, and, if we believe Abulfeda, it was the most ancient of all Religions. They did believe there was but one great God, whom they called the Lord of Lords, and in their disputations they alledged most strong Arguments for the Unity of the Godhead. This chief God they called Olla, or Alla taall, the highest or greatest God. Besides this chief God, they had other lesser Gods, to whom they did not attribute any intrinsicall, essential, underived power, but only an Efficacy comunicated by the Supreme Deity, whereby Men were imediately influenced and ruled: for which reason they adored them with a secondary divine worship, as Mediators and Intercessors for them. The manner of their Address to the great God was thus: "I give myself to thy service, thou hast no companion, but such as are in thy subjection, and thine is all that is devoted and offered to them,." They were of opinion that there could be no comunication between the Divince Essence and Man but by some intermediate beings, to which end they thought the pure, invisible, spiritual Substances were employ'd, and that

What share Arabia had in the Chaldaean Monarchy, I know not, nor whether it were ever intirely reduced under the obedience of one soveraign; and though it be certain that the Arabians were divided into Tribes, and were as exact in preserving their Genealogies, and marrying in their own Tribes, as ever the Jews themselves were, yet the Accounts of their ancient Religion and Learning are but very slender, they not having had the use of writing and Letters till a little before the birth of Mahomet, notwithstanding which it may be conjectured that the Astronomy, Astrology, & other knowledge of the Persian Magi & Chaldaeans was originally derived from them: there want not some who have endeavoured to prove this, but to insist thereon would not be to our present purpose. As to their Language, it seems at first to have been little different from the Hebrew, or at least Syriac, untill one Yaarab introduced the Arabic.

Of the Arabians there are said to be two sorts: the pure Arabians, who are said to have descended from one Joctan (or Kahtan), the son of Heber, the son of Saleh, the son of Sem, the son of Noah; and the Mosta-arabs, or denision'd Arabians. For Ismael, being ejected by Abraham, come into Arabia, seated himself at Yathreb (since called Medina), and married into the Tribe of Jorrham of the pure Arabians, who lived in Yaman or Arabia faelix; and from him descended the Coreischites, & other Mosta-arabic tribes, who notwithstanding are not able to deduce their Pedigrees with any certainty from Ismael, but from Adnanus, who was one of his Race. Ismael marrying into the Tribe of Jorrham conform'd himself to the Language, Manners, and way of living practised by his new Relations, & so he & his posterity became incorporated into the Arabians; and the Tribes of the Mosta-Arabs & Jorrham did diffuse themselves into several Provinces without reteyning any National distinction but what arose from their Genealogies, or Governments & Language. For as to this last it is said that the progeny of Joctan or Jorrham did differ in Dialect from the Ismaelites, the former using the Arabic dialect of Hamgar, which Ismael corrected and reformed into another called pure Arabism or the

Lieutenant at Damascus sought to apprehend Paul (2 cor. Xi. 32), must probably have been the cheif or one of their Kings, if Christian and Saracen Chronologers agree, several of their Princes being called by the name of Hareth of Areth.

As to the several Provinces thereof, according to the distinction above proposed, and generally received amongst the Europeans, Arabia petraea (so called from Petra, the chief City of this Province) is bounded on the West by the inmost nook of the Red Sea, and part of Egypt; on the north by Palestine & Caelo-Syria; on the East by Arabia deserta, and on the South by a track of Mountains which disjoyn it from Arabia faelix. By Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolomy it is called Nabataea, which name it is said to have had from Nabiaoth, the eldest of the twelve sons of Ismael, tho' properly that name belonged only to those parts of it which lay next to Judaea, the soyl hereof is rich and fruitful, and the people much addicated to trade and traffick.

Arabia deserta, or the desert, is bounded on the West by Petraea and Caelo-Syria, on the north by Euphrates, on the East by divers Mountains, which divide it from the Country of Babylonia; and on the south it is also separated from Arabia faelix by a ridge of Mountains, the Countrey is leval, the soyl sandy and barren, and consequently but thinly peopled, and full of great deserts and Wasts.

Arabia faelix, or the happy, adjoyneth to south parts of the two others, and runs out like a Peninusula between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia; it is the largest of the three Divisions, containing (as it is said) three thousand five hundred and four Miles in compass. It is by Solinus and others called Ayman, and by the Arabians Yaman; Dionysius, who lived in this part of Arabia, calls it Amaenam, or the pleasant. It does indeed exceed the others less in compass then in the fertility and happy condition of it, being esteemed the most Fruitfull and pleasant Countrey in all Asia, abounding with Myrrhe, Balsamum, Franckincense, Gold and precious Stones, and so stored with all the blessings of Nature, that some have thought it the Seat of the terrestiall Paradise.

CHAPTER-III

A BREIF ACCOUNT OF ARABIA & THE SARACENS

The better to understand the History of the Saracens and Hagarens it is necessary to give a breif relation, in the first place, of the Arabians in general, -- the Situation, Constitution, and Religion thereof having had a very great Influence upon the Mahometan Revolution and being interested in its production. The Arabians receiv'd their denomination not from Arabus, a son of Apollo, as the Latins imagine, but from Araba, one of the provinces of what is vulgarly called Arabia, situate near Medina, where 'tis thought Ismael did first seat himself, and which has since given the name to that whole Peninsula call'd Arabia, which is one of the most noble parts of Asia. It was anciently divided by the Arabians into five provinces or kingdoms, whose names being unknown to the European Geographers, I shall as much as is possible forbear to make use of, and acquiesce in the Vulgar division of it into Arabia petraea, faelix, and deserta. Its shores are washed on three sides by the sea, having on the West the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea, on the South the main Ocean, and on the East the Persian Gulph, and on the North it is bounded by Syria and River Euphrates. It is of very great extent and compass, being as large or larger than Spain, France, Germany, and Italy put together. Pliny reckons a great part of Mesopotamia within the precincts of Arabia, and the Arabians are by him stiled Syrians. As to this last, there it this ground for it, that the Arabian call'd Alda Jamini did conquer Syria, which province was a second time brought under the obedience and possession of the Gassanian Arabs, who came out of Yaman or Arabia Faelix, and were of the tribe of Azdenses; and Aretas, whose

them pretended his religion to be the true religion derived from Paul, whence arose great feuds amongst them.

To pass from this discourse to that other concerning the Ignorance of the first Christians, and their Enmity to all Ethnick Learning, it appears that in the dayes of Christ none but Galilaeans (who were a people in general contempt with the rest of the Jews) and such as were of the lowest Rank & of the meanest and most scandalous Employments, did believe in him; the wise, the Rulers, were such as the truth of the Gospel was hidden from. In the dayes of Paul not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called, but the foolish things of the world were chosen (1 Cor. 1. 26); & truly afterwards, till near the time of Constantine, very few of better Rank or Intellectuals did embrace Christianity, which made the Heathens upbraid the Christians, as men that gain'd only on Women and Children, and the poorer and more ignorant sort of persons. Nor did they pretend to Learning, as appears out of Lactantius, Arnobius, Minutius, Felix, etc., but, on the contrary, were Enemies to all human learning, as we may find by the old constitutions of Clemens, whereby all the books of the Gentiles are prohibited (Clem. Rom. 1. I, *Const.* c. 6), and by the Council of Carthage the Clergy were prohibited to read any such books. And when after this, when Christianity became generally received, it introduced with it a general Inundation of Barbarism and Ignorance, which over-run all places where it prevailed, insomuch that Avicen, being to related the nature of medicinal Simples according to the Greek Alphabet, says that he follows alphabetum Barbarorum (what I have said is notoriously true as to this point, and needs no further proof). I shall now proceed to the Perticular Narration of the Birth and Actions of Mahomet, whose rise that wee many the better understand 'tis necessary that we consider the Situation of Arabia and search into the Original of the Saracens, a Nation not mention'd by the ancient Greeks or Romans, and of whom there is no account given by the Christians contemporary to Mahomet.

Clement or some other), were ever pen'd in that language, tho' it is certain the supposed Authors knew no other, so that if they are not to be derived from these Helenistical Jews, I know as little from whence to fetch them as when they were written, so little certainty we have of their Original and Authentickness.

True, it is that Paul understood Greek, but his Epistles were as little regarded as his person among the Judaizing Christians, who had as bad an Opinion of him as the unconverted Jews themselves had. His jugling Carriage and his trimming with all parties, assuring each of them singly he was in the truth, and his observing or dispensing with the Law according to the humors of those he had to do with, is apparent (Act xxiii. 6): how else could he cry there that he was a Pharisee, & called in question of the hope and resurrection of the dead. And in his preaching unto the Jews, he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews: to them that were under the law, as under the law, that he might gain them: to them that were without the law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that he might gain them that were without the law: to the weak, he became as weak: and became all things to all men, that he might by all means save some (I Cor. Ix. 20, 21, 22). This behaviour of Paul, tho' it multiplied the number of Christians, yet did it lay the foundation of perpetuall schisms and heresies: for they would not relinquish as erroneous or evil those tenets and usages which he without reprehension indulged them in, and complied actually with himself. When he had layed in them his foundation that Jesus was the Messiah, he permitted any superstition of wood, hay, or stubble, any variety of doctrines not ending in direct Idolatry, assuring his confidants that notwithstanding this they might be saved (I Cor. iii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15). And who knows how sincere, or how complacential, he was in his writings, whose deportment otherwise is thus related.

I remember a Mahometan story of Ahmed ben Edris, that Paul instructed three Princes in religion, and taught each of them a different Christianity: assuring each of them singly that he was in the truth, and that afterwards when Paul was dead, each of

learned then they really were, and grant that they did understand the Greek tongue, certainly they would not have made use of it in writing to those who could not possibly edify for want of understanding the very words or Characters of such writing, so that all the sacred books of the New Testament (except what bears the name of Paul, who indeed did understand Greek) may be justly supposed to be but Translations, or Counterfiets performed by unknown persons whose fidelity or Integrity has been questioned as wel by those who embraced them as those who rejected them. Whoever they were written by, it is manifest they were persons very illiterate and meanly skill'd in the Greek tongue. The following passage of Salmasius shews I am not single in my opinion in relation to these matters. "Pro vero sane tenendu est omnes fere discipulos Christi & Apostolos ut erant Idiotae & plebaei Piscatores nimirum, Nautae et Portitores, non aliam nosse linguam praeter vernaculam hoc est Galilaeum et Syriacum idioma quod in illa Regione obtinebat etsiverum esset quod multi in Syria et Judaea, Graece sciebant, hoc ad infimae plebis homines nihil attinebat qui vernaculam tantum noverant Graecae prorsus ignari. Scribebant igitur Apostoli idiomate suo et lingua sibi familiari et vernacula quae protinus a Syris, Ηλλπνιςτοις vel Graecis ipsis and fidem coversis quos cecum habebant Evangangely praedicandi Adjutores et Administros in Graecum transferebantur de puibusdam hoc certo compertum est. de alijs ignoratum quia non proditum, de omnibus tamen verisimile est, quia de quibusdam verum; non enim est disparatio eorum qui gente ac genere, vocatione ac munere pares, quod ad novi Testamenti libros attinet ea Causa quoqus asferri potest cur multum diverse ab elegantiori et puriori Hellenistis loquendi genere conscripti sunt ab Ideotis quippe partim compositos dicere licet partim a Metaphrastis et ipsis non ad modum Graecae Sermonis peritis." I have transcribed only this passage, but the intire discourse upon the sixth question there deserves to be read. I cannot beleive that either the Gospel of Mark or John were pen'd originally in Syriack (for then the Judaizing Christians would have had them as wel as that of Mathew), or that the Epistles of Peter, James, and John, or that to the Hebrews (which is comonly said to be a translation made by

Hottinger, &c., the sole consideration whereof made the judicious Protestants reject their authority, and pay them but a precarious Veneration.

As to the subseuqent Condition of Christianity, that which we seem descended from is no other than a mixture of the Religion of the Jewish Heretical Sect of the Essenes, and of the Egyptian Therapeutae, who were also Jews, but not Essenes, together with the superadded Tenet of Jesus being the Messiah, and other Doctrines derived from the Gentile Philosophy, and certain Paganical Rites and Ceremonies. It is apparent that Eusebius and Epiphanius reckon upon these Essenes and Therapeutae as Christians, disciples of Saint Mark and the great ornament of the profession: Monkery deduces its original from them, and their lives were the patterns and presidents of those Christians who are renowned for the austere practise of Piety which the first Apologies represent. That the first Christians from whom we are derived were Alexandrian Proselites, who, retaining the name of Jews, did adhere to the Septuagiant, is sufficiently apparent, for that the Christians whether of the Greek or Latin Church during the first four Ages of Christianity, had no other Bible then that or a version of it, and from hence they received those Books which after Ages called Apocryphall: neither had our Gospel any other Original then from Alexandrine or other Hellenists. The Apostles were commanded to preach, not to write, nor do we find that Jesus himself ever wrote but once, and that with his finger on the ground. 'Tis confessed that Luke was of Alexandria; that Mark was also such is most probable; and as to the others 'tis evident that either they are but versions, or not to be intitled to any other beginning then that some Hellenists published them in the name of Mathew and John. For Mathew, if he writ any Gospel, may certainly be said to have written in the comon Syriack, which was then the Hebrew tongue. And the Gospel of Mark is thought to have been dictated by Peter, and only translated by him into Greek, as most of the ancients inform us. It is more then probable that the Apostles did not understand Greek at all, the gift of tongues lasted but for that time; but if we should suppose them more

doctrines (which were generally about metaphysical Notions which none of them understood) had forfeited their title to Christianity; but, on the other hand, when the ancient Fathers in a fit of ostentation would magnify thie number of their Converts or adherents, they not only bring into their Catalogue all such as did profess Christianity in any way and under how great variety soever of Rites or Tenets, but even such Pagans as opposed Idolatry, tho' they no way pretend to be followers of the doctrine of Christ, just as the Jews did reckon the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and other lesser Sects in the number of Jews. And as the modern Christians do compute in the Eastern Church, the Grecians, Melchites or Syrians, Georgians or Muscovites, Nestorians, Indians or Christians of Saint Thomas, Jacobites, Coptics, Armenians, Abyssnies, and Marionites; and in the West, Papists, Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Socinians, and such like, even to the inhabitants of Leiftland, when they would make an Estimate of Christianity and its extent, and not without Reason, for as we estimate those to be of human Race and give them the denomination of Men who have the general resemblance, Proportion, Speech, and Laughter, how different soever in their hair, size, complexion, or features, or inwardly in their Morality or Rationallity, so in Christianity the external profession in general doth entitle them to the Apellation. And if all persons grossly ignorant, Demi Jews, Demi pagans, Demi Philosophers, and such as posterity hath concluded under the notion of Heresy, are to be excluded, I do not know where to find the primitive Church or Fathers, since most if not all the Fathers come under this number, and the Martyrs were no others.

But to shew, further, how little the Fathers are to bee relied upon, it is suggested to us by the learned Causabon with whom all men of understanding agree, that the Fathers, as well those of the Greek as Latin Church, do very frequently make gross mistakes in point of History, either through Ignorance, Inadvertency, or because they inconsiderately made use of any Story that seem'd to make for their advantage, in their Sermons or Writings. And that they deserve as little credit in reference to matters of faith is apparent from the Writings of Mon. Daille

with prophesies concerning Christ and his Kingdom, which forgeries have been fully detected by Causabon, Blondel, Valesius, and others. A thousand such pious frauds, as the Stile of those times falsely intitled them, might be produced had not the labours of so many learned men in this last Age made it needless for me to prosecute such discourse any further in this place.

I must add that our Church Histories of the primitive times seem to be chiefly deduced from the Latin and Greek writers who give no account of the Syriack of Judaizing Churches, so that we hear no news of the latter till Saint Jerom and Epiphanius come to represent them as Hereticks for adhering to the same doctrine and discipline which Saint Peter, Saint James, and all the Apostle (except Paul) had instructed them in, and wherein they had not been controlled during the Lives of those who first founded the Church. What human authority had power to do it afterwards, I know not, nor how it appears that they had either corrupted their Tenets or depraved their Gospel, the Jews being so tenacious of Tradition, and careful of their records; besides, were they ever heard by an indifferent Judge or general Councill of all the Christian Churches? No, on the contrary, affairs were in so unlikely a posture as to that matter, that if they had been convened legally and fairly (as they ought to have been), not one of the Latin or Greek Christians could have understood what they said, or judged of their allegations otherwise then according to their own prejudicate Opinions. And this brings me to the notion of a general Council, which is or ought to be a meeting of all the Christian Bishops in the world, or at least of Proxies instructed by them and their Clergy. This being so, I may and do averr that there has never yet been a general Council, as it will appear to every one that reads the Subscriptions of those handed down to us under the name, which have been generally picked out by the parties or Princes to carry on Cabals or condemn some particular opinion which made its self obnoxious to the pride or peevishness of the Clergy, or the Jealousy of the State, wherein the owners of those opinions and divers others which were not for their purpose were not permitted to sit, as if those particular

be look'd upon as a compleat Refutation of them all; for if what I say be true, as I am certain it is, the contrary must be false. If it be further urged that the Relations I make are inconsistent with the Apologies of the ancient Christians, in which the Accounts given of the Tenets and practices of the Christians in those Ages are so very different, from mine that they cannot be anyway reconciled, I answer that those Apologies ought to be lookd'd upon no otherwise then as Rhetorical Pleas, and the defences of Advocates for their Clients, wherein the truth of the matter was not regarded, but everything managed as much as possible to the advantage of the defendant. There are instances more then sufficient to satisfy any reasonable Man that this Course was taken by the Fathers, and that they were not so scrupulous as to stick at a palpable untruth if it would serve their purpose. Thus Justin Martyr in his Apology to Antoninus pius averrs that Simon Magus did Miracles at Rome, and that he had a Statue erected to him in the Reign of Claudius Caesar, inscribed "Simoni Deo sancto," of which Relation there is not a word true, so that I can call it nothing but impudence to obtrude a story upon the Roman Emperor and People which he himself knew to be false, and they might so easily have contradicted. In like manner Apollinaris, Bishop of Hieropolis, and Tertullian in their Apologies say that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius being reduced to great Straits for want of water, and in danger of having his Army destoryed by the Germans, the twelfth Legion, called Legio Fulminea, being Christians, did obtain such a return from God to their Prayers, that at the same time a plentiful shower supplyed the Roman Army, whilst Thunder and lightning annoyed the Enemy. That Thereupon the Emperor should write to the Senate, to decree that the Christians should not be molested, that any man might turn Christian, and that no Governor of any Province should divert any man or turn him from Christianity; all which story is a mere forgery, as Vossius hath demonstrated at large. Others of them employed themselves in compiling books and imposing them upon the World under borrowed Names, and then quoting them for their purposes. Such were the pretended writing of Zoroaster, the Sybilline Oracles, and others of that kind, out of which they amused the Pagans

CHAPTER-II

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY FOR THE FOREGOING ACCOUNT OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS

It may perhaps seem strange that the general Description of primitive Christianity, and of the manners and Tenets of the Christians in the first Ages of the Church as they are represented in the foregoing Chapter, should so much differ from the usual Accounts thereof, which are delivered to us by the Divines and vulgar Historians; but, as far as is possible to satisfy such scruples, I desire the Reader, first, to consider the grounds and proofs upon which I proceed, and if the Authors I make use of be good, the Citations true, and the Facts certain and indisputable, if the progress of Christianity be such as is conformable to the constant course of human Affairs in such great Revolutions, that then he would not oppose me with discourses of miraculous Accidents, unimaginable effusions of the Holy Ghost, and such like, which no reason can comprehend nor Example paralel. Secondly, let him consider that since we are destitute of any solid Chronicles or Annals of the Church before the dayes of Constantine the great, which was about the middle of the fourth Century, as Eusebius who lived in that time complains (except the Acts of the Apostles), whatsoever is alleged against me must be out of Suspected or Spurious Writers, or at least such as are partial in their own Case, and ignorant either for want of Learning, or want of books, and other opportunities of being rightly informed, or blinded in their Judgement, by a prejudicate Opinion, so that the crfedit of what I have written ought not to be lessened thereby, being agreable to the History of the Acts of the Apostles, and the real existence of things, and therefore ought to

had permitted John, Bishop of Constantinople, to assume the title of oecomenical Bishop, which Title the Pope declared to be antichristian (his congratulatory Letter to the Usurper upon his Exaltation gives but too much encouragement to that opinion). Phocas, in return for these kindnesses from that See, gives the Title of the Head of the Church and universal Bishop to the Bishop of Rome; Boniface, who was then Pope, having been Nuncio from Gregory the great to that Emperor.

Cosroes, exasperated at the Murther of his Father-in-Law and his family, and abominating the Christians whose great Prelate should countenance so base and barbarous an Act, renounceth Christianity, and destroyeth all the Christians in his country who would not leave the Melchites and turn Nestorians, which gave an opportunity to Nestorianism to spread its self as it did in Persia, and those Oriental Countries, their Patriarch residing in Mesopotamia, at Musall, or Mansell, which is supposed to be built nigh the old city of Nineveh. He also in revenge invaded Syria and Palestine, Sack'd Antioch and Jerusalem, carried multitudes captive into Persia, and excited the Jews to a Rebellion in Palestine. Phocas, after eight years' Reign, having tired the people by his enormous Cruelties and Lusts, was slain by Heraclius, who had been chosen Emperor by the Soldiers and populace; and, on the other side, Cosroes having disobliged his subjects in turning Christian, and being in his latter dayes unfortunate in his Warrs, was deposed and murdered by his son Syroes, who lived but a year after , and was Succeeded by Hormisdas.

and Affrick, and by severe Laws established and enforced the Trinitarian Religion, and suppressed the different Sects and Religions in the Empire, abusing the Jews, persecuting the Arrians and all other Heretricks (except it be true that he favoured the Eutychians), he reigned thirty-nine years. After him succeeded Justinus the second, Tiberius, Maurituis, Phocas, and Heracluis, in whose dayes arose Mahmet. It is observable that in all these times there was such a general corruption of Manners, and Christianity was so depraved, that the Church of England and other protestants in general reject the authority of them, and admit no general Councils after that of Chalcedon, under the Emperor Martianus. Their Reigns suggest nothing considerable to the subsequent Discourse, but that Christianity was then degenerated into such a kind of Paganism as wanted nothing but the ancient Sacrafices and profess'd Polytheism, and even as to the latter there wanted not some who made three Gods of the Trinity, others made a Goddess of the Virgin Mary, the Reverence to the Saints differed little from that of the Pagans to their Heroes and lesser Gods, and then were Images brought into Churches, tho' not by publick authority. The Civill affairs were in no better Condition, the Emperors were frequently deposed or murthered, and obscure persons by fraud or indirect means oftentimes promoted to the Empire. Thus the Emperor Maurituis, having reigned long and gain'd much upon the esteem both of his own subjects and the Persians, whose King, Cosroes, having married his daughter had thereupon turn'd Christian; yet having disgusted part of the Army by refusing or neglecting to redeem some that had been taken prisoners by the Avares, Phocas, a turbulent fellow and only a private Captain in the Army, found means to be declared Emperor by them, and marching to Constantinople in a most barbarous manner murthered the Emperor Mauriituis, and his sons, and afterwards the Empress, with her daughters and divers of the Nobility. 'Tis thought that the Bishop of Rome, Gregory the great, was one of the main Contrivers and promoters of this Revolution, having been incensed against Maurituis for his Decree to prohibit soldiers from turning monks, but especially because he

and his Sect very much diffused, and do stil remain in very great Numbers in the Oriental parts of the World.

The truth is, such was the igonorance of the People and the debauchery of the Ages in those times, that if a Man did but live a Pious Strict Life, with Mortifications, and outward Devotion, and were but an eloquent Preacher, he might in any place in the Eastern Empire make a potent Sect instantly. And to shew how ignorant the Clergy were at the general Council of Chalcedon, in the time of the Emperor Marcianus, we find that the Greek Tongue was then so little understood at Rome, and the Latin in Greece, that the Bishops of both countries (being in all 630) were glad to speak by Interpreters. Nay, in this very council of Chalcedon, the Emperor was fain to deliver the same Speech in Greek to one party, and in Latin to the other, that so both might understand him. The Council of Jerusalem for the same reason made certain Creeds both in Greek and Latin. At the council of Ephesus, the Pope's Legates had their Interpreter to expound the Words, and when Celestine's Letters were there read, the Acts tell us how the Bishops desired to have them translated into Greek and read over again, insomuch that the Romish Legates had almost made a Controversy of it, fearing lest the Papal Dignity should have been prejudiced by such an Act, alledging that it was the ancient Custom to propose the Bulls of the See Apostolick in Latin only, and therefore that might now suffice; whereupon these poor Greek Bishops were in danger not to have understood the Pope's Latin, till at length the Legates were content with Reason, when it was evidenced to them that the major part could not understand a word of Latin. But the pleasantest of all is Pope Caelestine's excuse to Nestorius for his so long delay in answering his Letters, because he could not by any means get his Greek construed sooner. Pope Gregory the first also ingeniously confesseth to the Bishop of Thessaly that he understood not a jot of his Greek, so that 'tis very probable that the Proverb of honest Accursius was even then in use, "Graecum est non legiture." This was the Condition of Christianity in which Justinian found it about the year 540. He by his Conquests subdued the Arrian Goths and Vandals in Italy

they pleased about it, and imposed it on the generality, for in those dayes, Synodical Decrees obliged only such as were willing, or present and Consenting, and you may meet with accounts of the Christian Faith enjoyned to be beleived, by the Imperial Edicts of Thedosius, as wel as Justinian; so that I may recknon among the Trinitarians, a sort of People who followed the Court Religion, and believed as their Prince ordained, living unconfined by the Dictates of the then declining Chrurch.

Altho' the Trinitarians had resolved upon and subscribed to the Nicene Council, and embraced those forms of speech which are now in use, yet did they not understand what was meant by them. The Latin Church allow'd of three persons, and not of three Hypostases; the Greek Church allowed of three Hypostases, and not of three persons, as difficult was it for them to explicate Usia or Essennce, which hard words produced a Subdivision amongst them consisting of Nestorians and Eutychians. The Nestorians, beleiving the Divinity of Christ, held that he was made up of two distinct person,s and so perfect God and perfect Man. The Eutychians, tho' they allow'd that there were at first two Natures in Christ, yet they averr'd that upon the Hypostatical Union, the Deity and Humanity were so blended together by confusion of propertise and substances, that one person endued with one Will did emerge thence. These two Sects were of great Power in the Eastern Church, and tho' they were both condemn'd in the third and fourth general Councils, yet did they spread far & near through Palestine, Aegypt, the Kingdom of Abyssine, and all Persia. Each of them had their Patriarchs, Bishops, and Churches, contradistinct from the Melchites, who, for adhering and subscribing to the Council of Chalcedon (which all thie Imperial Clergy did), were by the other Sects called Melchites, that it to say, Men of the King's Religion. The Authors of these two Sects, the Nestorians and Eutychians, were learned and potent Bishops. Euthyches was Patriarch of Constantinople, & with him joyned Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria; Severus, Patriarch of Antioch; and Jacobus Baradaeus, from whom the Jacobites are at this day denominated. Nestorius was also Patriarch of Constantinople,

being weakened by their divisions, impoverish'd by the Wickedness and Corruption of the Christian Rulers of Provinces, and their Depredations upon them, and provoked by the Insolence of the foreign Soldiery by which they ruled, and so being as unwilling as they were unable to resist, all parties did willingly submit to the Dominion of the Goths, and prefer it before that of the Eastern Emperours.

I come now to the Trinitarians, whom I cannot but represent as enemies to all human Learning. They had Canons forbidding them to read any Ethnick book, which, being represented to them as sinful and carnal, their blind Zeal disposed them to destroy all they met with of that kind: so that except some few who appear to be somewhat knowing, we have reason to suppose them universally ignorant. And as were the Passtors, so were the People, their Religion consisted rather in an outside service then inward Piety or knowledge; their Faith was in a manner implicite, the Misteries of Religion (such I call the doctrine of the Trinity and its Dependencies) were scarce ever mention'd to them in Sermons, much less explicated. Hence the Vulgar became prone to embrace Superstition, to credit Miracles how ridiculous or fabulous soever; Visions, Allegories, Allusions to Texts were convincing Arguments, and no demonstration was like a feign'd story or Legend, or what might be interpreted a Judgement upon a Heretick.

As to the Imperial court, I known not well what Religion to instal them into, for of Christianity they had hardly anything but the Name. The Emperors did long wear the Habit of the Roman Pontifices maximi; and after Gratian and his successors had laid it aside, they continued to exercise the power. You will find a hundred times in the Theodosian and Justinian Codes that they assumed the Titles of nostrum Numen Aeternitas, Perennitas, &c.; they made their Predecessors after their Death to be reputed Divi; they continued the Circensian Games, the obscenities of the Theatre, and Scenical women, with a multitude of other Idolatrous and even brutal practices, for which one would be astonished to read Laws extant in the Theodosian Code. As to the matter of Religion, the Emperors enacted what

and supposed to be all of a Judgement at first, so that they were rather Parties then Judges; neither had the Arrians the freedom to dispute their Case, so that it is no wonder matters were carried so high against them in the Nicene Council. But the Emperor Constantine was so little satisfhied with their proscription that he soon recall'd Arrius from banishment, and a little before his Death was baptised by an Arrian Bishop. Constantius and Valens were profess'd Arrians, not to mention the Goths in general. They were protected and honoured with civil and Military Comands by Valentinian, Theodosius, and other Emperours. Their Doctrine was not only confirmed by eight Councils which were at divers times assembled at Tyre, at Sardys, at Syrmium, and at Rimu, where 600 Bishops were of their opinion, and but three of Name which held the contrary, but they also punished others, their Adversaries who were of a contrary Opinion to them, whith Confiscations, Banishments, and other greivous Punishments. Whether the power of their Cheiftains, the riches of their Churches, the Magnificence of their Worship (for they first brought Musick into the Church), or the fame of their Learning and pretensions to reason, which is alwaies an invidious Plea, and more especially to the reigning Ignorance of those times, or what else it was that raised jealousy in the Emperors, and hatred in the People against them, and most contributed to their depression and Persecution, I know not, but the other party again got the upper hand of them, and persecuted them again in their turn, altho' to persecute for Religion were by Hilary, Athanasius, and other Trinitarians then accounted an Arrian and Unchristian Tenet. It is not to be doubted but after the dayes of Theodosius that reason of State did most prevail towards their Subversion least they should joyn with the Goths, who possessed themselves of Italy, Spain, Affrick, and other Provinces, and became terrible to the Byzantine Empire. Howsoever it was, it is easy to comprehend that these indiscreet janglings, wherein the ruin of one party was a weakening to the other, did much facilitate the conquest of the Goths, who being, if you will credit Salvian, very pious in their way, mild to the conquered, and just in their dealings, the people

admitted and readmitted upon easy Terms. Novatus and his adherents who had not apostatised would not communicate with such, nor readmit them upon any Penance, not that they thought it impossible for such to be saved, but that it was not in the power of the Church upon any terms of Repentance to Associate with them: according to that of the Apostle (Heb. Vi. 4, 5, 6), these were the Puritans, as I may call them, of those Ages; they were men of a strict Life and withall of a peaceful Disposition; they were Orthodox in their Judgement about the Trinity, which made those that adhered to the Nicene Councill to show them great Respect, and to own and protect their Bhishops. These of all the Sects alone seem not to have intermedled with the publick affairs and Revolutions, but accquiesced so in a Toleration, as never (that I know) to have endeavoured anything to the prejudice of other Sects, or sinisterly to advance their own Party; they continued till the Ruin of the Eastern Empire, their succession being recorded in our Church Histories, and their oppression under the Bishop of Rome condemn'd by Socrates. Tho' this Sect raised no faction in the Empire, yet it is easy to conjecture that their continuance in open Schism, ----- the grounds whereof were publickly known and asserted throughout the Eastern & Western Empire ----- together with their examplary Lives (in which all the innocence and true zeal of primitive Christianity seem'd then to be lodged and preserved), must needs have added to the contempt of the Imperial Religion, as if it were corrupted in its Discipline and Purity, and so far to have strengthened the dissenting Parties.

The Arrians were so powerful a Sect in the Empire that the followers of the Nicene Councill were not equal to them either in Number, Splendor, Interest, or riches. If you will beleive the learned Petavius and others, they offered to try their cause and vindicate their opinions by the Fathers who preceded the Nicene Council, and at that council were rather condemned by a party then by the general Consent of the Christian Church. For Constantine, out of above 2000 Bishops, excluded all but 318; nor were those (according to some Accounts) all Bishops who composed the Council: they were pack'd for the purpose,

and their Custom of rebaptising those of the other side which were converted to them, did every way imprint in the people an Opinion or Suspicion that the Imperialists were scarcely to be reckoned among the Number of Christians. The Donatists continu'd till after the dayes of Honorius, and being reduced to great Distress by their Persecution, 'tis not to be wonder'd if many outrages were comitted by those who saw themselves, their Families and Relations, utterly undon by such as contrary to the general Tenets of Christianity employ'd Force against them. 'Tis usual for men in despair to joyn with any third party, and more to be expected from them, being Affricans and so naturally disposed to Revenge, so that 'tis no wonder if the conquest of Affrick proved easy to the Goths, who being afterwards ejected after a long and feirce War by Justinian, the Arrians were then no less oppress'd then the Donatists before, their constant Wars having made them valiant and bold, their Humour malicious, their sufferings angry, and their Religion indifferent to any Novelty; for during these Contravention's, for want of instruction by their own Clergy (who were banish'd and otherwise hindred from performing their functions) or the Imperialists, who minded little but Ease and Ambition, and were extremely ignorant, 'tis easy to be imagined that they retained only a sense of some generals in Christianity, and had nothing of Ecclesiastical Government or Order among them, nor Sacraments, no, not of Baptism, except they confirm'd; but stil so firmly retained the Notion which had been whispered and insinuated into them, that the conformists were not truly Christians, that it seems to have been the great Article of their creed.

The Novations had their Original from the like Occasion, all the Italian Clergy, except Novatus and two more (as I remember), had consented to Idolatry in the time of Dioclesian and Maximin, and upon the change of Condition afterwards, returned with their Followers to Christianity. This act of the Italian Clergy (the Bishops of Rome being involved in it) gave a beginning to the compliant and indulgent Christians of those Ages, whereby the Discipline of the Church was ruin'd, and men

The Donatists begun in Affrick upon this occasion, after that Persecution against the Christians ceased, those whom either Zeal or Passion had made obstinate Sufferers for Christianity, detested and refused Comunion, with such as either had delivered up their Bibles and Holy Writers to the Pagan Emperours in obedience to their Decrees, and for that reason were called Traditores, or had exempted themselves from Danger by paying a some of money which were called Libellatici, or had offered Incense and complied for the Season with prevailing and persecuting Paganism which were stiled Thurificatores; and a Bishop, who either had or was said to have delivered up his Bible, being surreptitiously chosen and ordained at Carthage for that City, the other Bishops, partly in vindication of their Rights which the Ecclesiastical Constitutions had vested them in, partly out of zeal against such a betrayer of Christianity, declined his Comunion, excommunicated all that adhered to him, and ordained another Bishop of the place. The people generally adhering to the Donatists, the Schism was very great, and their party owned by 230 Bishops, whilst the Bishop of Rome and the Italian Clergy (who had been universally involved in those base Compliances) did adhere to the other, as also did the Imperialists, as finding that party more pliable and suitable to their political Ends, and living under so lax a Discipline that the Gentiles might upon easy Terms be admitted to their Churches. The Donatists exasperated hereby and finding no favour (or rather, as they said, no Justice) from Constantine the Great, sought and found protection from Julian the Apostate by reason of their submissive and invidious address. After Julian the succeeding Emperours opposed and oppressed them with great rigor, fining them, confiscating their goods, entreating their Churches, banishing many, and in a manner outlawing them. But as the Resolution and Constancy with which they suffered did ingratiate them with the Populace, who are prone to think those are unjustly oppressed who bear their punishment bravely and with pretence to Martyrdom for Religion, so the arguments which they used in the Defence of their Cause being very conformable to the strict Christianity professed in those parts,

whether they, being driven to despair, might entertain foreign Correspondency, is to me unknown but not improbable. 'Tis most certain that they fomented Discords among the Christians, and on all occasion (as Athanasius particularly relates of the Contests at Alexandria) they did abet the Arrians, and adhere to them openly, their Philosophers disputing for the Arrians in the Council of Nice; and as Alexandria had been the seat of the Ethnick learning, Philosophy, natural, moral, and political, Physicks and Mathematicks, being there most eminently professed and taught: so from thence they were propagated over the Eastern Empire, and the Philosophers there did insensibly engage their Christian Scholars into several Heterodoxies, according as their Genius inclined each of them to Platonism, peripateticism, &c. It is most certain that the Arrians and all the subdivisions of that numerous Sect were profoundly learned in those Sciences, and the Origen derived his knowledge from an Education under them and the Benefit of their Libraries thiere.

The Christians had great encouragements and immunities to support them, and great Privileges were enacted for such as turned to that Religion, and Penalties frequently decreed and often times rigorously inflicted on the Pagans, so that the only thing that contributed to the prejudice of Christianity was their divisions among themselves, in which, by mutually exposing each other's Lives and Doctrines, all the parties became equally contemptible and ridiculous. Besides the petty Sects occasion'd by pure ignorance, folly, or Madness (of which kinds the Catalogues of Hereticks do present us with many), which were easily extinguish'd by the Imperial power, or fell of themselves, there were three potent Sects which gave a great check to the more facil and complaisant Christianity of the Empire. The Donatists who possessed in a manner all Africk and had some hold in Italy; the Arrians, who possessed in great part of Eastern Empire; and the Novations, who were with great Repute for purity and piety diffused in all places where christianity had prevailed: these three Sects being all settled under their Episcopal Reglements with distinct Churches.

Employment's; and by the Decrees of Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian & Valens, Theodosius the great & Arcadius, they were not only freed from Affronts & Contumelies & their Synagogues protected, but the same respect paid to their Rulers as was shewed to the Christian Bishops and Hierarchy. This wee find confirm'd to them by Arcadius *(Cod. Theodos,* l. 16, lit. 8, leg. 13): "Judaei fuerint obstricti Ceremonijs suis: Nos interea in conservandis eorum privilegijs Veteres imitemur; quorum Sanctionibus definitum est ut privilegia his qui illustriu Patriarcharum Ditioni subjecti sunt Archisynagogis, Patriarchisq, ac Presbyteris ceterisq, qui in ejus Religionis Sacramento versantur, Nutu nostri Numinis perseverent ea quae veneranda Christianae Legis; primis Clericis Sanctimonia deferuntur: id enim et Divi Principes Constantinus, Constantius, Valentinianus, & Valens, divino Arbitrio Decreverunt." This was in A.D. 397' afterwards (A.D. 412). Theodosius the younger confirm'd their privileges. But by reason of several Enormities and misdemeanours, which they fell into by abusing their grandeur and Power, or for reasons of State, the Patriarchship was abrogated (A. D. 414). Yet did the particular Patriarchs, and Rulers of the Synagogues, gather for their own use the said pension of Aurum Coronarium, til it was annexed to the Imperial Exchequer, by Theodosius the Younger (A.D. 429)., In this flourishing Condition did the Jews spread themselves in great numbers under a regular Government over the Eastern & Western Empire, both Palestine and Aegypt, Arabia, Babylon, and Persia were replenish'd with them, their Rabbis flourished, and about this time were their Targums and Talmuds compiled, and Judaism reduced to that system in which we now find it in the Empire.

Thus we see three grand Religions all in a flourishing and powerful condition, tho' that of the Pagans was now in its declension, their interest being continually undermined by the Emperors and Imperial governors in several Provinces, and by the Jews and Christians; whatsoever Laws were made in favour of them and their Liberty, were either directly violated or pretences daily sought to give colour to that Injustice, and

successors advanced these Prelates to a kind of Princely Dignity, that they might gain the greater Veneration among the People, and equal the splendor of the Pagan Preists.

Then began Temples to be dedicated with as much Solemnity by the Christians as ever any were by the Pagans, and intitled to the Apostles, Martyrs, and Angels. For magnificence and largeness they were equal to those of the Heathens; and as in the fabrick & dedication of Churches the resemblance of Paganism was introduced, so the ecclesiastical Government was made paralel to it. Thus you read now not only of Tempels and Altars, but the Clergy are stiled Sacerdotes, Antistites, Sacrae Legis, etc., and as the Heathenish religion was supported by a Preisthood under the Pontifex maximus and his Colledge, consisting of the Provinciarum Sacerdotes, Asiarche Syriarchae, etc. (which were also called Sacerdotals), the Flamens whose power exceeded not their City or Town, the Ministri, Prefecti and Hierophantae agrorum who attended in Country Villages, just such was the Reglement of the Christian Church, and the Jurisdiction in a manner equal.

Thus was the Empire to be balanced, but withall the Christian Emperors strengthened themselves by favouring the Jews, whose aversion for Idolatry was as great or greater then that of the Christians, the interest they had in Persia preserved them still in great Splendor. Notwithstanding the desolation which Hadrian had brought upon them, they are so spread over the Earth that they cannot be destroyed, and by adhering to and supporting each other, by marrying among themselves and not mixing with the People of the Nations where they inhabit, they Escape the Comon Fate of conquer'd and dispersed Nations who lose their name by being incorporated into and become a part of another People; thus they begun to spread again, and the Christian Emperors gave them not only freedom of Religion, but permitted their Patriarch to gather his Aurum coronarium. in the East & Western Empire, and to live with very great Pomp and Comand. The Rulers of the Synagogues, lesser Patriarchs, Presbyters, and others concern'd in the Government of that Nation, were exempted from Civil and personal Duties and

Christians: they were inclined to a Contempt of their Gods, and an indifferency in their Religion; they were exasperated at the haughtiness of their priests, and the expensiveness of their Rites and Devotions. The Discipline of the Roman Legions being extinct, and the Armies composed most of Forreigners, men of mercenary spirits, and no friends to the establish'd Religion, these Soldiery beheld opulent Preists and Vestals, together with their Colledges, with an envious Eye, and cared not if a new Religion were introduced, to that they might share the spoils of the old.

In this juncture, and under these Circumstances, I find Constantine to have made himself Emperor. Right he had none, being a Bastard, and not elected nor admitted by the Senate; his Sword was his Title, and success warranted it. His Soldiers were not more inclined to him upon the Assurance of his Courage and Conduct then animated by the Hopes of Honor and riches which the conquest of Italy, and change of Religion and Government, would instate them in. He subverted the power of the Senate, removed the seat of the Empire, alter'd much of the Religion, and gain'd most of the Sacerdotal lands and revenues by the change. He was no Christian in profession till a few dayes before he died he was never at prayers among the Catechumeni till then, nor so much as baptised, and without that initiating Sacrament 'tis not to be imagined that he could be instructed in, or admitted to, those Doctrines and Acts of nearer Comunion. All that is written contrary hereunto are palpable untruths or acts of Flattery. 'Tis true his Mother seemed Zealous for Christianity, and built many Chruches, and he out of his spoils alotted some to pious uses; thereby to amend the condition of the Christian Clergy and oblige them to him, he endeavoured the reducing of Christianity into one uniform Doctrine, to which purpose he assembled the Council of Nice, and there framed a confessional Faith. He by new Honours gave great Lustre to the Church, and insured his own Secular Power, by advancing the Ecclesiastical, and that of the Christian Bishops, these being Spies and Cheks upon his governours;. and since Rome and Alexandria were the two places that had most infuence upon his Empire, he and his

Honor of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, which were before celebrated to Mercury, Venus genetrix, Bacchus, and the Rural Deities.

As the aforesaid Calamities of the Jews did make a great alteration in Christianity, so did the frequent Persecutions by the Roman Emkperors against them, who look'd upon them as no good Subjects, since they expected a temporal Messiah, and oftentimes disclaimed all subjection to the Pagan Magistrates; sometimes rebelling, as in the Reign of Dioclesian did the Christians of alexandria, and the adjacent Countries under Saint George; and in France under Amandus and Elianus. They look'd upon 'em generally as enemies to the received and establishe'd Religion or Idolatry of the Empire, and feared the consequences of a Change therein. Besides that the People hated them upon that Account everywhere, many bickerings and tumults happen'd thereupon; they also look'd upon the Mortification and Monastickness of the Christians as inconsistent with the Government, infeebling Men's minds and alienating them from Military Employments (the Sinews of Empire), and spoyling Trade, by decrying Luxury and Excess, as wel as in diminishing the sale of cattle and other Comodities used in the Pagan Solemnities.

These amongst many others (which Papinianus, as I remember, is said to have digested into seven books, concerning the Justice of punishing the Christians) were the Motives upon which those Persecutions went. And tho' Christianity were not extirpated, it changed much its complexion. The Opinion of a temporal Messiah was laid aside, Subjection to the Pagan Magistrate preached, many dissolute and enormous Assemblies disowned, and declared Heretical; the Christians fought for the Gentile Emperors, and watch'd at the Temples to defend them, declaring them to be no Martyrs who were punished for disturbing or demolishing them. Much of their Rigor and Strictness was abolished, or preserved only in a few Monasteries; and as the Christians suffere'd this alteration and were infected by the Conversation and Superstitions of the Pagans, so these on the other side became much altered by mixing with the

It is no less strange that the Christian Emperors should for so long time bear the Office, and wear the Habit of the Pontifices maximi; that the Roman Senators which were Christians, should, as they went to the Senate, be present at the Sacrafices perform'd at the Altar of Victory, about the removal whereof Symmachus and the majority of the Senate being Pagans, did prefer a complaint. I shall illustrate this point with a strange relation out of Eutychius, who was one of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. He tells us that when Alexander, the predecessor of Athanius, was first made Patriarch of that place, he found there a Temple, and a great brasen Idol dedicated to one Michael, which was much frequented by the Pagans; that the Inhabitants of Alexandria and Egypt did keep a great Festival in Honor of this Idoll, on the twelfth day of the Month Haturi, and offere'd up many Sacrafices thereto. The Patriarch had a great mind to abolish this Idolatry, but met with much opposition about it. At last he prevailed by subtility: he told them that this idol was an insignificant Statue, but if they would perform the same Devotion, and offer up the like Sacrifices to Michael the Archangel, he would intercede with God for them and procure them greater benefits then that Idol could. Whereupon he broke the Idoll in peices and shaped it into a Cross, and call'd the Temple St. Michael's Church, which Church was afterwards called Caesarea, and was burnt when the Western Army took Alexandria, the festivals and Sacrafices being continued in Honor of Saint Michael. And even still the Cophtite Christians in Mitra or grand Cairo, and in Alexandria, do celebrate the Festival of St. Michael on that day, and offer many Sacrafices unto him. The relator is a Historian of good Credit; and altho' I do not remember that I have read the like Sacraficing to have been perform'd by Christians elsewhere, yet any man conversant in Antiquity known that a multitude of Pagan usages crep't in, or rather were continued, among the Christians; and tho' they did not Sacrafice, yet they brought to their Preists at the altar the first-fruits, as had been formerly practised to the Rural gods, and rather the Objects to the Devotion were changed then the things abolish'd. The same Festivals were retain'd in a manner to the

Revolution had a mighty influence upon Christianity, and Adrian in his letter to Servianus, wherein he gives him an account of Egypt, doth avow that all the Christians there besides their devotion to Christ, did worship Serapis: "... illi qui Serapim colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Chrisiti Episocopes Dicunt: Nemo illiic Archi Synagogus Judaeorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christainorum Presbyter non Mathematicus, non Aruspex, non Aliptes: ipse ille Patriarcha cum Aegyptum venerit, ab alijs Serapidem adorare, ab alijs cogitur Christum." Some would have this Letter to be false or full of untruths, since it seems incredible that the Christians should do so, affirming, as a further proof of the falshood of this passage, that the great Patriarch of the Jews did not come into Egypt at all, and that the Christians had then no Patriarch at Alexandria or elsewhere. For my part I am of a contrary Judgment, and do believe that the Bishop of Alexandria, by reason of greatness of his power and splendor, was call'd Analogically or by way of flattery a Patriarch: this appears from Eutychius in his *Origines Alexandrini,* and from other Oriental Writers who speak, of St. George as son to the Patriarch of Alexandria, tho' really in his time who lived in the reign of Dioclesian, there were none. As to the mixing of Pagan worship with Christianity, I shall not insist upon what the Thurificators (one whereof was a Pope) did upon compulsion. But if ever there were such a legion as that termed Fulminatrix, in the Army of the Emperor Adrian, or the Legio Thebaea (both famed in Ecclesiastical Story), or any Legionary Soldiers that professed Christianity, I am confident they never had any Dispensation from worshiping the Roman Eagle. And I am the more confirm'd in this Sentiment, since even under the Christian Emperors the imperial Banner call'd Labarum was in like manner worshiped.

It is certain the Aegyptian Christians were not so scrupulous afterwards, but that they procured to themselves and executed the Office of Archierosyna, whose power was to superintend over and manage the Pagan Temples, Festivals, Rites, and whole religion of Aegypt. And this they continued to do until Theodius the Great did prohibit them from it (A.D. 389).

of Bishops there was no subordination but a parity. Yet it is easy to imagine that during the numerousness, grandeur, and power of the Jews in Palestine, Aegypt, Babylon, and throughout all Greece, and whilst the Gentiles expected a Messiah of the Jews to whom they were to be subjected, they did pay a great respect to the Jews, and were much swayed by their Dictates and Opinions. But about fifty years after the destruction of their City and Government under Titus, there arose another Messiah among the Jews who stiled himself Benchocab, or the son of the Star, to whom the famous Rabbi Akibba joyned himself, and saluted him as the King Messiah, applying and accommodating to him the prophesy of Balaam of the Star to arise out of Jacob: great was his power, and a bloody war did he wage with the Romans and the Emperor Adrian. After three years he and four hundred thousand Jews were miserably slain by the Emperor, and vast numbers taken Captive and sold for slaves; those that escaped were so angry with their pretended Messiah, that they termed him Barcozab or Cuzibba, the son of a Lye. After this Adrian marcheth with his victorious Army to Alexandria (where the Jews in favour of Bencochab had destroyed the Romans); there he put to death an infinite number of Jews, -- the slaughter of them everywhere was so great that the Jewish relations thereof are scarcely to be beleived. He entirely destroyed the City and Temple of Jerusalem, and built in the place a new city call'd after his own name Aelia, and a Temple dedicated to Jupiter and other Heathen Temples in other parts of their countrey, everywhere pulling down and destroying their Synagogues; so that it is not to be imagined that the Jews did anywhere for some time after this appear imbodied in the Roman Empire.

We may now conceive naturally, that the Christians must totally disclaim the Jews, and pretend only to a Spiritual Messiah, since they could not have preserved themselves but by so doing; and undoubtedly not along after that we find mention of Preists, Temples, etc., and the Rites of the Chruch did evidently comply with Paganism. What befell the Judaizing Churches, I know not, but they became in little Esteem, and sank at last under the name of Ebionities and other Hereticks. This

the Deity of the Holy Ghost, or of Christ, or touched upon the Trinity, Homousianism: etc., if we reflect upon the Greed intituled to the Apostles, and certainly very ancient, that there is no intimation thereof in it: if we take notice how differently the Fathers explicate themselves upon that point, and how much the other works of Athanasius do differ from the Creed which passes under his name, -- wee may very well doubt concerning their judment in this matter, and may have sufficient grounds to conclude that it was not a doctrine taught them at first or believed by the wiser converts, but that the vulgar Gentiles according to their Custom attributing a Divinity to Christ upon the Account of his extraordinary Acts and Miracles, the hint being improved by adapting some passages in the New Testament to the Platonick Philosophy, produced that and the doctrine of Trinity, the terms of λογος, ὑςιος νποςταςις, etc., being all naturalized out of the writing of Plato and his followers, a which yet the most learned of the supporters of these doctrines could never understand so as to form clear and distinct Ideas thereof, from whence proceeds the confusion and difference in their writings upon this subject.

As to their Rites and Church Government, the Apostle of the Uncircumcision, who became all things to all men that he might gain them to Christ, did comply with their weakness and prejudices. Many Pagan usages and Superstitions were retained, their Church Government was modell'd much according to the Pagan usage in their Temples and Sodalites; 'tis not impossible but that they might have had in some places as well Preists as Temples dedicated and Altars: the distinction of their Churches into Ordo & Plebs savours of the Gentile Customs in the civil Government of their Cities. It is not to be beleived that the Jewish Apostles did appoint or Ordain Officers for them, for the Jews did not use to ordain Jews for Judges to the Stranger Proselites, neither would they certainly appoint them Rulers in their Churches; besides it is notorious that the first Bishops were elected by the Suffrage of the People, and might be deprived by them, that they might upon a Dissension break into a subdivision of Episcopacies, and erect two or three or more in one city; and

him, insomuch that Barnabas was carried away with their Dissimulation (Gal. ii. 12, 13). The same distance continued afterwards in the Judaizing Churches, for altho' the Jews held that the pious among the Gentiles might be saved, yet did they esteem them as unclean, and such as they might not freely converse with or eat with (Acts x. 28)

It may indeed be question'd whether the Gentile Christians did not beleive the Deity of Christ, for being so accustomed to the Deifying, and conferring divine Honors and worship upon men, 'tis more then probable that many did believe him to be a God in the Pagan sense as other Heroes and extraordinary men were reputed. And thus Pliny in his Inquisition after Christianity, found that they used to sing Hymns to Christ quasi deo, as if he were a God. And Tertullian relating the same thing, sayes they did sing Hymns Christo and Deo, nor can there be doubt thereof or that there were many pieces of poetry composed by the brethren which ascribed a Divinity to Christ. But if there be any ground for that assertion of Artemon, Apollophon, Hermophilus, and Theodotus, the most learned, subtle, and philosophical Disputants (tho' stiled Hereticks) of the ancient Christians: that all the first Christians and even the Apostles themselves, were taught and did teach, that Christ was a mere man (which was their Tenet), that the truth of this doctrine was continued in the Church untill the dayes of Pope Victor, who was the thirteenth Bishop of Rome after Peter; and that Zephyrinus his successor did alter and corrupt that truth: if it be true which the Arrians said, that none but Ideots and simple persons beleived any such thing as the Divinity of Christ, and that till the Decision at Nice the more knowing Christians did not hold him to be really God: if we may conceive that they were firmly taught that there was but one God, and that they were too dull to comprehend or invent those subtle distinctions of Essence, and person, Consubstantiation, eternal Generation, etc. : if it be certain that the Fatheres after the Nicene council were not agreed concerning the meaning of these uncouth Words, and that the World was long after dissatisfied with the use of them: if such as Gregory Nazianzen & Basil were shy how they taught

Thus wee are to look upon the Opinion fo the Synod and their directions thereupon only as an instance of things comonly known to be necessary. Had it been meant any other way, what a confusion would there have risen upon so great an Inovation in the Jewish Tenets, or how can wee imagine that they who were so zealous for the same would have acquiesced therein. How should they suffer this additional Clause out of the Mosaical Law, to be extended to the uncircumcised, viz. To abstain from things strangled, which was permitted to the Gentiles (Deut. Xiv. 21). But this clause Is held to be spurious in the Text by St. Ambrose, and others; and really 'tis incredible that it should ever have been in that Decree: nor can it be reputed a necessary point in the Decree to abstain from things offered to Idols (except we understand thereby to abstain from Idolatry); for Paul decides that point otherwise to the Corinthians, that it was simply lawfull for them to eat things offere'd to Idols, and that 'tis an indifferent matter, except in case of scandal, as Heideggerus doth demonstrate out of the place. I do take it therefore for granted that what I have above laid down was the fundamental doctrine of the Gentile Christians. But I must further add, that as the Jews retain'd their Tenets and usages under Christianity, so did the Gentiles many of theirs: thus Pantenus and Clemens Alexandrinus mixed Stoicism with Christianity, Origen and other Platonism and Peripateticism, and I have read of Cynicál and Epicurean Christians. And here it is to be noted that tho' these Gentiles were converted to Christianity, yet not being circumcised, and by that united to the Jewish Church, the Judaising Christians retain'd the same shyness and contempt which the Jews alwaies had of the rest of the Nations. We find they were offended with Peter for going to Cornelius, a Gentile (Acts ii. 2). Neither did they come to the same Assemblies, or communicate with them, except it were upon extraordinary occasions, and by a paramount Apostolical proceedure: thus Peter having at first associalted with the Gentile Christians at Antioch, and eat with them, when some came to him from James he withdrew, and seperated himself, fearing them which were of the Circumcision; and the other Jews dissembled likewise with

the Law of Nature contain'd in what they call'd the seven comandments of Noah. Of this sort of Proselites were Naaman the Syrian, the Ethiopian Eunuch, Cornelius the Centurion, and those of whom we read (Acts ii. 5), that there were dwelling at Jerusalem, men that feared God, of every Nation under Heaven. The other sort they call'd Proselites of Righteousness who were converted to Judaism, and the intire obedience of the Mosaical Law, and Rites. Now those Jews who were the most strict and Religious in the observation of their Law were for reducing all their Converts under it, and obliging them to Circumcision and all its other observances; whilst others, for secular or politic Reasons, could give their Proselites a Dispensation in these matters. We have an instance of this in Josephus, in his *Ant. Jud.* l. 20, c. 2, where Izates King of Adiabene, being desirous to embrace the Jewish Religion, but afraid of occasioning thereby a Revolt of his people; in this Exigency he consults Ananias a Jew then in his Court, who out of fear of being look'd upon as the promoter of that change in the King, and thereby becoming the object of the people's Vengeance, gave his opinion that the Worship of God being more interiour then exteriour, he would doubtless be excused before God, tho' he should omit Circumcision and the other outward Ceremonies, comanded in the Law, being don upon so good grounds as his own Safety and preservation. But another learned Jew, named Eleasar coming out of Galilee to this Court and seeing the King read the books of Moses, took him up roundly. Sir (sayes he), you affront the Law of God, and thereby God himself, if you know these Comands and do not obey them, but if you do not know that Circumcision is comanded, read there, and see if you can delay it without impiety. In like Manner the Apostles, who were for making all the Converts they could to their Doctrines, were unwilling to clog them with the heavy burthen of the Mosaical Law, lest it might deterr them from Christianity, and so were willing to receive them under the terms of the Proselites of the Gate, which the beleiving Pharisees, who retain'd the same veneration for the Law which they had before their Conversion, did not think sufficient, but were for making them intire Proselites.

believe all the Gentiles were to be concluded, if they would have any portion in the Life to come or Kingdom of Heaven.

This seems most evident from the Apostolical Decree made by the Synod at Jerusalem, wherein there being a Contest about what Obligation the beleiving Gentiles were to be brought under; whether they ought to be circumcised, and instructed in the whole Law of Moses to keep it, or whether they should be only subjected to the seven Comandments of Noah. The Synod concluded on the latter. We find by the History of this Council that those which were for imposing the burden of the Mosaical Law upon the Gentile Converts were of the Sect of the Pharisees which believed (Acts xv. 5). Hence it appears that those of that Sect which entertain'd the Doctrine of the Messiah, and so became Christians, did still retain their Seal for the Law, and the opinions and Traditions of their Sect together with the doctrine of Christ, yet were not look'd upon us Hereticks, albeit it were true that Ebion and Cerinthus were the persons that first raised the Scruple: for it is certain they which held that Opinion were then in good Esteem with the Church, and were a part of that Apostolical Synod; tho' overruled, how else could there have been such a σv.η[illegible]η'σις so great a dispute there as the Text avers (Acts xv. 7). There were also of the Saducees which professed Christianity, and believed Jesus to be the Messiah, yet denyed the Resureection. Of such doth Justin Martyr Speak, in his Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, where he reckons up as a third part of Christendom those which were called Christians yet denied the Resurrection, and Tenet of the Chiliasts. 'Tis true he esteems them as wicked and heretical persons, but reckons them as Christians. Seeing then that the converts did retain generally their former Opinions, and that Christianity its self was but a reformation of Judaism (as Mr. Selden more than once inculcates), to understand the decision of this matter we must consult the Customs and doctrines of the Jews in the like cases. Now the Jews had two sorts of Proselites; one sort they call'd the Proselites of the Gate, these were Strangers dwelling among them, which they could not convert to Judaism, so that continuing Gentiles they were only obliged to the observation of

places. He that will compare this with the Account which we have of the Christian's Agape or Love Feast, and considers that tho' the Magistrates did not usually allow of private Combinations or meetings. and yet approved these if they extended not to the danger of the publick, will think that the Κνριαχω ν δειπνος and the Κοινω νι'α τποωμα[illegible]ος τ χειςπ were but appellations of some such Sodalitium or Fraternity: and this seems apparent from the Comunion of the Corinthians, where every man brought in his contribution of food and wine, and ate & drank thereof. The fault which the Apostle' doth blame in them is that the Comunicants did not impart to the rest of the fraternity that which they brought, but each fed upon his own Symbolum, so that the poorer sort did rise hungry, and the rich did eat and drink to excess. He tells the Corinthians that if they will eat apart, they may do it at home, and not in the Church or publick assembly: that this proceedure was contrary to the Rules and intent of such Feasts, and that thereby such as were poor were put to shame and slighted, by reason of the meanness of their Contributions (1 Cor. Xi. 23). St. Paul in this place speaks of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and if we compare this with the Agape, we must conclude the Agape and the Comunion to be the same thing: so that it is no wonder if we read of several waies of celebrating, this Supper among the Ancients. Even in the Apostle's time some comunicated with the Pagans at their Festivals, and to the Honor of Christ did drink of the Cup of Divels, and did partake of the table of Divels (I Cor. X. 20, 21), from whence wee may observe that the Rites were the same, tho' they differe'd in the objects's of their devotion.

This being the quality of their Rites and Ceremonies, let us take a view of the Doctrines to which the Gentiles were converted, these seem to be pricipally contained in the grand Tenet, that Jesus was the Messiah of the Jews, who was to unite Jew and Gentile under one Temporal Monarchy. To qualify the Gentiles, and befitting subjects for that Celestial Prince, they were to repent of their sins, renounce Idolatry, and intirely to obey the seven comandments of Noah, under which the Jews did

Lord's Supper and all its Rites seem to be deduced hence, the Festivals of the Pagan Deities were usually Suppers at which there was great Feasting, in both which this Sacrament did at first resemble them. They were performed in Temples, so was this at first, and so still continues to be. All the names of the Pagan Misteries are fixed on this Sacrament, and its Rites: Μνς|ειον, Τελετ≡, μφηΦ4ς, and the proceedure from Chatechumeni to Competentes, and then to Fideles: the preparation before it, and the Austerities, so resembling that they easily shew whence they were derived. But withall I must add that as these Misteries were not everywhere the same (for in the Mysteries of Mithras they gave to the initiated a Cup of water & some bread with some accessional forms of words), so neither were the Rites of this Christian Sacrament in all places alike. Where the Reverence of the Mysteries were greatest and most solemn and accompanied with greater Mortifications, there the Christians were more strict; where it seem'd rather substituted to the Pagan festival Suppers, there they were more jocund, and the χνρια χονορδοχη was no other among the Christians then these Suppers, paganical δεπνα or Pontificum Caenae of the Gentiles. In some places they had their ΕΦαιρνχι or Assemblies of men at Festivals, these were allow'd everywhere in Greece and Alexandria, and usual among the Gentiles, by whom they were termed ΣνΦιτια, Θιλαιγαοται, Ερανοτ, Καταβόλα and those which assembled there Ειλαπιγαοται, etc., they were either held upon a Religious account as the Θιασοι, or merely for pleasure and Conversation as the rest. At these feasts each person contributed his part or share towards the defraying the Expence, which contribution was call'd Σνμβολη, Symbola or Symbolum: the Associates had a kind of Admission among themselves, and the manner of assembling gain'd' it the name of ΣταιρειαϿα and Κοτγωνια', and usually either the overplus of the money collected for these meetings was laid up, or perhaps some further Collection made for the relief of needy or distressed Members of the Society or against such Contingencies; these were publickly allowed by Authority, and held monthly, sometimes in the Temples, and sometimes in other appointed

It is most certain that Baptism heretofore was not administred by aspersion (as now), but by a total immersion; & as to the baptising of Children, if it were used by any in the first Ages, it is condemn'd by Tertullian, and others, and can vouch no presidents or precepts out of Scripture, the discontinued Usage of baptising for dead, hath more to shew for it, since it is mention'd in Scripture, and not condemn'd in the Greek Church. Nazianen was not baptised till thirty-three years old, albeit a Bishop's son, nor was Valentinian the Emperor Theodosius (altho' descended of Christian Parents), nor St. Ambrose, nor Constantine, and his son Constantius; so that we need not wonder to read that sundry heretical Christians did reject Baptism totally, perhaps it having never been used in their Churches. Such were the Selcucin, Hermiani, Procliani, and that ancient and numerous Sect of the Manichees; even the Jocobites did not use Baptism, but with a hot Iron imprinted the sign of the Cross in the Forehead of their Partisans.

If I may be allowed to guess at the Original of Baptism, I would derive it from the Pagan Custom aforesaid of washing away expiatorily in Rivers the most enormous Sins, in the doing whereof the Pagans were very tender, but the Christians merely frank (as Zosimus relates of Constantine the great), and the Baptism of Children from hence that because the Romans used the eighth and ninth day to devote their infants to Dea Nundina, and give them names, as the Greeks did to theirs, on the tenth day after their birth, therefore the Christians out of compliance with that Supertition of the Vulgar did hereby incline them at these times to initiate their Children to Christ. The like Condescention was used in many other cases, as in the observation of Christmas, New years day, May day, Shrovetide, and the previgil and Weeks of Saints; and the form of Churches, the praying to the East, processions about Parish bounds, the Denomination of the Clergy by the titles of Antistites, Pontifices, Sacerdotes, and the Churches by the name of Templa and Ades, the shaving of the Clergy, the Surplice, the Antiphons, and a thousand other things observable in the ancient Gentile, Christianity had no other Original. Even the Sacrament of the

Wee may further collect from the different Sects of the Jews (some of every one whereof embraced Christianity) that the differences were as great in Christian Synagogues as in those of the Jews, where the Saducees, Essenes, Pharisees, & Samaritans made Sects, each retaining their own Opinions mix't with the Doctrine of the Messiah, & hence came those Judaising Sects, of which such a number is recounted by Epiphanius.

We may also imagine a great diversity betwixt the Jews living in the land of Promise & those who lived out of it; for the Jews did not then, nor do now, think themselves obliged to the Mosaical Rites (much less any Temple worship), out of Palestine: the criminal Laws have no coercive power out of those bounds. The Paschal lamb is not slain in any other Country; all ground besides that, holy Canaan is too impure & profane for such Services & Rites, tho' they did by the authority of their Rabbis frame to themselves many succedaneous Rites & retains Circumcision, the Judaical Doctrines, & an opinion of their perticular Holyness above the Gentiles. Of these Judaising Christians or believing Jews doth Origen speak as continuing to his time not being reckon'd as Hereticks, but good Christians.

As to the Gentiles that were converted to the belief of the Messiah, tho' Paul were the Apostle of the Uncircumcision & did not reduce them under the Mosaical Law & Rites, yet being originally an Hebrew 'tis easy to be observed that in the settling of the Church Government, & the penalty of Excomunication, he did introduce in their Church several Judical Constitutions, accomodating thereto diverse of the Pagan Ceremonies. The intromission of the Gentiles by Baptism was no Jewish Rite in Proselites of the Uncircumcision, & can only bee look't on as a particular washing from Uncleanness, such as was that of John Baptist; or an imitation of that Pagan Rite so frequently used in Case of enormous sins to wash them away by bathing in a River, to which the poet alludes:

Ah nimum faciles qui tristia Crimina Caedis,
Fluminea tolli posse putastis Aqua (Ov. Fast. 1, 2)

Sacrifices were known in those dayes, nor was the name of Priest then heard of. Before the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem these Apostles used to go forth and collect the said money as, Shekels paid to the Temple, which was afterwards converted into Aurum coronarium. In the subsequent Ages there is mention of the Patriarchi minores, to whom the Theodosian Code gives the Title of spectabiles (as the other grand Patriarchs are stiled illustres & clarissimi), as also Primates; there is likewise mention of the Hieres, whose Office is not known now unless it relate to the Cohen now in use among the Jews. How ancient are the lesser Patriarchs (who seem to have ruled over the Archi Synagogi & Presbyters of particular Synagogues), I cannot tell. But since all learned men do now agree that the Christian Church was govern'd according to the pattern of the Jewish Synagogue, there can be little doubt but that every Officer of the Christian Synagogues resembled those of the others as wel in Office as Name, & that as they retain'd the Rites & Customs of the Jewish Synagogues in all other things, even to structure (not building their Synagogues East & West, but contrarywise, so that the coming in was at the east & they prayed to the West, in which manner is St. Peter's Church built now at Rome), and in observing the Sabath, Pascha, Circumcision, etc., so they did in their Government, & "is observable that even at this day, tho' the Jewish Synagogues agree in the substance of their Service, yet for the perticulers thereof there is a great discrepancy among them in several countries, as we find there was in the primitive times among the Christians.

'Tis very probable also that the Judaizing Christians were at first subordinate to the Jewish Patriarch & Primates (having none of their own till the Jews were animated against them and anathematised them), as they were at first called by the comon denomination of Jews, & some of them frequented the Jewish Synagogues, the Tenet of Christianity rendring them only Mines or Hereticks, not Seperatists (as St. Jerom saies), and they continued so to do in his time through all the Synagogues of the Eastern Jews.

Churches) did repute that as the only authentic Gospel, as Epiphanius relates. And from hence, I conceive, arose that Division whereby some declared themselves to be of the Synagogue of Paul, others of Apollos, & others of Cephas; the last being the Apostle of the Circumcision, his followers retained the Jewish Rites, the Hebrew Scriptures, & Hebrew Gospel (according to what descended to the Nazarenes at Pella Berea, etc.), with a Regimen exactly Judaical. But Apollos being an Alexandrian Jew, or rather a Jewish Proselite (as one would guess by his name), used (no doubt) the Septuagint, & in all probability did introduce in his Synagogues a conformity with the Alexandrine Rites & government, adding thereunto that Jesus was Christ, which is all that I find he preach'd (Acts xviii. 28). But Paul, who dealt with the Gentiles, did not reduce them under the Judaical Law and Circumcision, nor enforced them to any Uniformity, but became all things to all (by way of condescention) that he might gain them to Christ: whence his Synagogues or Churches must needs have varied exceedingly from those erected by Peter & Apollos: which gave occasion to that distinction at Corinth, some being of Paul, some of Apollos, & some of Cephas (I Cor. I. 12). From hence, if one will frame to himself a prospect of the first Christianity, he must imagine to himself distinct Synagogues of the original Jews & Hellenist Proselites, none of them subordinate to the same Governors, but as independent as were the Jewish Synagogues everywhere, each Synagogue having its peculiar Bishop or Angel of the Church, and ruling Presbyters, who were termed in the Civil Law, & by the Jews, Archi Synagogi and Presbyteri: tho' perhaps the Nasi or Patriarch at Jerusalem might have an Universal superintendence over them, as he had a power to exact Money from all the Jewish Synagogues in the East and West. The Officers which were sent to gather his Aurum cronarium, or Tax, were call'd Apostles, and in imitation thereof did Christ institute his Apostles. The whole constitution of the primitive Church Government relates to the Jewish Synagogue, not to the Hierarchy. The Presbyters were not Preists, but Laymen set apart to their Office by imposition of hands; no Temples, no Altars, no

each other before upon the account of that difference, so they seem to have retain'd the same passion and animosity under the Gospel: & the murmuring of the Greeks (Acts vi. I) perhaps derived its beginning from hence: the Hebrews not releiving the widdows of those others, whereupon the Hellenist Proselites had seven Deacons chosen out of their number to attend that care. The Hellenist related strange Miracles concerning their Version, and feign'd a Tale of seventy cells in which each Translator finish'd his version, & upon comparing they were found to be the some word for word. But the Jews say that darkness was upon the face of the Earth in the time of Ptolomy, when that translation was made, & kept a Fast yearly in the month Thabath, to testify their sorrow & resentments for it. And tho' the Hellenists did reside in Judea, or resort thither from Alexandria, Antioch, & other places, yet they held Synagogues distinct from those of the Hebrews; thus we have the Synagogue of the Libertines, of the Cyrenians, Alexandrians, etc. (Acts vi. 9). Such were the Jewish Synagogues, of which Justin Martyr & Tertullian speak, in which the Septuagint was read; such was that in Cesarea, the Metropolis of Judea, whereof we read in the Hierosolymitan Talmud that R. Levi went to Cesarea, & hearing them reading the lesson in Greek he would have hinder'd them, but R. Jose was angry, & said, Must not he read at all who cannot read Hebrew; let him read in any language that he understands, and he dischargeth his duty.

This distinction of Synagogues was upon the same account introduced, or rather continued, amongst the Christians, for tho' the Hellenists & Gentiles did use the Septuagint and Greek Service, the Hebrews did not so, nor used they the same Gospels with the other. Such were the Nazarenes who lived at Cesarea, Berea, & elesewhere, who used the Hebrew Bible & either a Gospel peculiar call'd Evangelium Nazareorum, or Evangelium secundum Hebraeos, or at least the Gospel of Mathew written in Hebrew: but with that discrepancy from the others, that the Church hath rejected it as Apocryphall, sophisticated with sundry Fables, & otherwise currupted. But the Nazarenes & Ebionites (the remains of the Judaising

I Cor. Xi. 23)), we must believe that all the Ceremonies of the Jews were intirely retain'd by them at such times, Seeing that in the Evangelists we find nothing don in the Lord's Supper but what the Jewish Rituals prescribe. This Scaliger avoweth, Ea omnia quae Evangelio traduntur, in Ritibus Judaeorum sine vlla Discrepantia eodem modo precepta esse, with whom Buxtorfe and those that are most versed in the Rabbinicall Learning agree.

But that they did never believe Christ to be the natural son of God, by eternal Generation, or any Tenet depending thereon, or prayed unto him, or believed the Holy Ghost, or the Trinity of persons in one Deity, is as evident as 'tis that the Jews & they did expect no such Messiah, and the introducing such doctrines would have been capital among them as tending to Blasphemy and Polytheism. It was Blasphemy adjudg'd in Christ to say that he should sit at the right hand of Power, that Power being esteemed an incomunicable Attribute of God, and so suffer'd Stephen (Acts vii. 56, 57). Nor did Jesus, upon the adjuration of Caiphas, say that he was Christ the Son of God (Math. Xxvi. 63). And albeit it is manifest that the appellation of son of God was not unusual among the Jews so as that they bestow'd it on Men, yet did they not import thereby any real Divinity in the Person (nor did Caiphas in his adjuration mean so), but an extraordinary perfection lodged in Humanity & Hyperbollically express'd.

Neither is it to be believed that they were of opinion that the death of Christ had put an end to the ceremonial Law as consisting of types and fading shadows, since they obstinately retain's them so long after, & which is most considerable. During this time they were instructed & govern'd by the Apostles and their immediate successors. Such was the condition of the Judaising Christians, amongst which it is further remarkable that as the originary Jews did use the Hebrew Bible in their Synagogues, however that they expounded it in Syriac & Chaldee, as they do now in Spanish, Italian, etc. (according to the language which the Auditory best understands), & the Proselites did follow the Septuagint, & had a Greek Liturgy; so it happened in Christianity the Jewish Converts did use the Hebrew Bible, and the others adhered to the Septuagint; and as they hated

the Mosaical Law (Acts xxi. 20), and lived in a perfect conformity to the legal Rites. It is not to bee doubted but their Religion & Doctrinals varied much from ours, such a Sacrament as we make; Baptism to be (sure) they had none, the Jewish Baptism extending only to Proselites when newly made, and their present Family, not successive posterity: except we take it in a general sense for washing, as Luc. Xi. 38, and so they might baptize either arbitrarily upon some great occasion, as at the preaching of John, or out of respect to legal or superstitious Pharisaical uncleanness, and to this alludes the Apostle when he tells the Hebrews of the Doctrine of Baptisms (Heb. Vi. 2). They that were circumcised resorted at usual times to the public Temple Service (Acts iii. I & 13, 14); they paid vows, offered Sacrifices, and walked orderly, keeping the Law, & yet were believers (Acts xxi. 20, 23, 24), and there is not any sign that they were Separated from the other Jews, or were accounted Hereticks upon any other account then that they held Jesus to be the Messiah & taught in his name (Acts iv. 17, 18). As to the other Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, neither did they use that otherwise then as Christ had done, as a Judaical Rite used either at the Passover, or constantly at Meals, the Cup of Blessing being then distributed by the Master of the Household, and the bread broken & distributed. The use of Red Wine, the breaking of the bread formally, & the distributing of it; the very names & Rites are the same which were usual among the Jews; nor was this ever don in the Jewish Synagogues, but at home, and, so 'tis recorded, they continued daily in the Temple, & breaking bread at their own houses, did eat their Meat with Gladness and Singleness of heart (Acts ii. 46). 'Tis very probable that they added to the usual benediction of the bread & Wine some commemorations in honour of the Messiah, which was no Innovation or Schismaticall Act, since every Rabbi might enlarge the Synagogue worship or private devotion of his Disciples in that manner, and it was usual for them so to do, wherefore this could give no Distast. And if we believe that they imitated Christ in the celebration of his last Supper, as that we may (for what was received of the Lord was deliver'd unto them,

(and such as were not of the Jewish profession) to be obliged to, it is no wonder that upon the persuasion that the Messiah was born, that he was ascended into Heaven and returning again in Glory, that some became Apostles, & others Evangelists & Teachers both to Jews & Gentiles. The Partitionwall and distinction was to be taken away when all the World should become subject to the same Prince, who should extend his favours first to the Jews, and then to the Gentiles, the greatest Prerogatives and Priviledges apperteyning to the Jews, as the peculiar People, and the Children of the Promise.

Wee find in the first Churches a distinction between Christians that were Jews and entire Proselites, and those that were Gentiles, or Uncircumcised, the first had their Apostles, all except Paul being of that Number, and of Peter it is particularly said that he had the Apostleship of the Jews comitted to him, as Paul was charged with that of the Gentiles (Gal. Ii. 9), & of those who were scattered upon the Persecution as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, they preached to the Jews only (Acts xi. 19), tho' amongst the Jews there wee find this distinction that some of them being intire Proselites, but not understanding Hebrew nor reverencing that holy Language so much as the originary Jews, they spoke Greek, and used the Septuagint in their Synagogues; these were the Grecians Spoken of (Acts xi. 20), as Salmasius well observes, & such were the Churches in Jerusalem, to whom the Apostles appointed Deacons, all Proselites of them that preached to the Gentiles, some taught them the necessity of Circumcision, and becoming intire Proselites. Thus did Peter (Gal. ii. 14) and others (Acts xv. l). And even Paul circumcised Timothy, tho' the son of a Gentile Father (Acts xvi. 3). Sixteen Bishops of Jerusalem were successively circumcised, saith Sulpitius Severus; and their names are mention'd by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (l. 4. C. 5), and even those who derived their Pedigree so as to shew they were of the Kindred of Christ call'd Deposyin were alwaies of the Circumcision, as Eusebius also tells us (1, i. 7), from hence we may frame to ourselves a prospect of the primitive Judaizing Church, since it is certain that they were zealous as to

from their contemporaries, & was deliver'd by them not as Doctors, but Witnesses; not as their Own Opinion, but as Apostolic Tradition: it was certainly the most prevailing Argument in the Conversion of the Jews, who, by the Death of Christ upon the Cross, having lost all hopes that the glorious predictions of their Prophets concerning the Reign of the Messiah should bee accomplish'd under him, were, upon the information they had of his miraculous Resurrection & Ascention, easily cajol'd with the hopes of his second coming to reign over them & fulfill the Prophesies; neither was there any difficulty in this belief, their minds being prepared for it by the like Expectations they had already entertain'd of the second coming of Moses & Elias. This Tenet hath been so fully handled by Doctor Mead (not to mention some others) that I might have declined the Allegation of those impartial and able Witnesses, the Lord Falkland and Mr. Chillingworth.

These were the principal Tenets of those that were the first Christians, & from whence they were denominated. As to the subordinate Doctrinals, they were no other than these, that the Messiah being already come & since his Ascention being upon his Return, in order to the Recollection of Israel, the re-establishing of that Kingdom, & uniting of all Nations under one Scepter (a Scepter of Righteousness and Truth), that all persons ought to prepare themselves for this holy Kingdom of the Messiah, and of Heaven, & to relinquish all Idolatry and Wickedness, to repent of their sins unfeignedly, & to submit to those Laws, under the obedience whereof God had concluded Mankind, tho' in sundry manners, there being one Obligation upon the Jews & entire Proselites, and another upon the rest of Men who were not under that Dispensation, but subjected only to the seven Comandments of Noah, and by due observing thereof, might render themselves capable of a Portion in the future Life, and be sufficiently qualified for the Kingdom of Christ on Earth. It being the custom of the Jews alwaies to make Proselites wheresoever they lived, and if they prevailed not so far, at least to reduce them from Idolatry and Gentilism to the observation of that Law of Nature which they esteemed all the Progeny of Noah

to the subsequent discourse. Dio Cassius tells us that in the time of Adrian, when Barachochas acted the Messiah, many nations joyned with that Imposter & the Jews, so that the whole World was in a comotion, which cannot be understood of any but entire Proselites, for the Jews would not have mingled with others; and after that, under the Christian Emperors, our Codes & Ecclesiastical Constitutions inform us that they retain'd the custom of inveigling Proselites. This being the condition of the Jews, and all the Nation (however disperse) being prepared beforehand, to entertain any tidings of a Messiah who should advance the Throne of David to an universal Monarchy, 'tis not to be wondered that Christianity was so soon spread over the whole Earth. But, wherein consisted this primitive Christianity which was thus diffused, certainly the principal Tenet which gained upon the Spirits of all Men, was the doctrine of the coming of the Messiah; and it is evident that this was the fundamental article from whence the Christians had at first their name in Antioch, & which they propagated everywhere as the sum of their Religion, that Jesus who was crucified was the Messiah, that he was risen again, & would return in Glory to restore Israel, & establish Truth and Peace throughout the Earth. The first part of this is apparent from diverse texts, the second seems demonstrated, hence that not only the Jews but the Christians were Millenaries, & did believe and expect the temporal Reign of the Messiah, & the union of the Jews & Gentiles under one most happy Monarchy. Not one of the two first Ages did dissent from his Opinion, & they who afterwards opposed it never quoted any for themselves before Dioysius Alexandrinus, who lived at least 250 years after Christ. Of this Opinion was Justin Martyr, & (as he saies) all other Christians that were exactly orthodox. Irenaus sets it down directly for a Tradition, & relates the very words which Christ used when he taught this Doctrine; so that if this Tenet were not an universal Tradition in the most primitive times, I profess I know not what Article of our Faith will be found to be such upon the most diligent research. This Doctrine was taught by the consent of the most eminent Fathers of the first Century without any opposition

remain'd there, the rest being carried away captive by the Assyrians, continued in the Dominions of Ashur till Nebuchadnessar brought the Jews into the like Captivity & scattered them all over his Dominions, which comprised one hundred & twenty seven provinces (Esth. Viii. 9). It is not to bee doubted but the power & interest of these Jews or Israelites was very great there about the time of Christ, if wee compare the account of Josephus with what we find afterwards, that they could be contradistinguish'd from the Palestine Jews, had their own Targum & Talmud, & their Republicks or Universities in Soria, Pombeditha, Nehardea, & other places, continuing to the times of Theodosius, Arcadius, & Honorius (nay, Beterus tells us of one at Bagdad which contined till the year of Christ 1300, & was then desereted for fear of the Arabians), they had also an infinite number of Synagoges & a Reverence universally paid to the Rulers, equivalent to what was shew'd to the Christian Bishops & Clergy. All these came up frequently to the great Festivals at Jerusalem (as Salmasius proves out of Acts ii. 9), where from the place of their Residence they are called Parthians, Medes, Elamites, etc. Besides this inestimable number of Jews, there was a multitude of Proselites whom they continually converted to entire Judaism, their perpetual endeavours being to draw all they could to their Religion: thus wee find Idumeans were made Proselites in the daies of Hyrcanus. In the Babylonish Empire many of the Nations turned Jews (Esth. Viii. 17), & the Talmudists reckon upon Nero Caesar & Antoninus Pius as Proselites. But to evince their number better, let us learn from Salmasius that the originary Jews did never use the Septuagint in their Synagogues, but that it was only made use of by the Proselyte Jews & their Posterity at Alexandria & elsewhere. The Hellenists mention'd in the Acts were no other, & the Deacons elected there to provide for the widdows were of that number, one being a Proselite of Antioch. That they were Jewish Proselites, appears from hence, that the Gospel had not then been preached to the Gentiles. How diligent the Pharisees were to engage new converts, the Gospel tells us, & to descent engage to after ages, which is of some importance

adorn'd with gold & Jewels according to the Number of the Elders, and a wooden Pulpit in the midst thereof, wherein stood the Bishop of the Synagogue, & when the Law was read, after the pronouncing of ever benediction, a sign was given by the shaking of a Handkerchief, for the People to say, Amen: they did not there sit promiscuously, but men of several ranks & professions did sit in distinct places; there were once so many Jews there that the multitude was double to what went first out of Egypt.

In the next place, let us consider the multitude at Babylon & in the neighbouring territories of those which went up to Jerusalem with Ezra, Nehemiah, & Zorobabel; the number was but small, & those consisting of two tribes, principally Judah & Benjamin, with four orders of the Preists & Levites.

Josephus gives us an account how wonderfully numerous the Babylonish Jews were even in his time He tells us that when Esdras had obtained leave from Xerxes, to go up to Jerusalem, that he sent copies of the Letter to the Jews which dwelt in Media, of whom several repaired forthwith to Babylon with their Effects, in order to go up with Esdras. But the rest of the Jews, Israelites (saith he), would not leave that Countrey, so that only the two Tribes of Judah & Benjamin are to be found in part of Asia and Europe, subjected to the Roman Empire; the other ten Tribes continue beyond Euphrates, being an infinite people and not to be numbered.

This Account how ten Tribes remain'd ought not to seem strange to such as consider how St. James writes his Catholic Epistle to the twelve Tribes which were scattered abroad, nor to such as believe that the seventy two Interpreters of the Bible were chosen out of the twelve Tribes, or who give any credit to the Itinerary of Benjamin Tudelensis, a Jew, who in his travels about five hundred years ago met with great numbers of those Israelites that were captivated by Salmanassar in Media and other neighbouring Countries. It is to be noted that upon the Schism in the time of Rehoboam great numbers of Israelites leaving their own Countrey went up to Juerusalem (with the Levites who were outed from their office by Jeroboam) &

of Israel, & whose second coming would complete the happiness of all Nations, as well Jews as Gentiles.

That we may the better understand the way whereby these glad tidings were spread, 'tis requisite to be inform'd off the condition of the Jews in those days. It will not injure my relation if I translate a piece of a letter written by Agrippa, a King in Jewry (tho' not of Jerusalem), to Caius Caligula in behalf of the holy City, & published by Philo in his Embassy to the Emperor. Jerusalem (says he) is the Metropolis not only of the Country of Judea, but of many other places, by reason of the Colonies translated thence at several times either into adjacent territories, as Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Caelo-Syria, or those more remote, as Pamphylia, Cilicia, most parts of Asia as far as Bythinia & the inmost parts of Pontus: nor is Europe exempt from this Jurisdiction; the Jews being planted in Thessalia, Baeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, throughout Peloponesus, especially in the principal parts thereof : nor is the Continent only replenished with this Nation, they have settled themselves in the chiefest Isles, as Eubaea, Cyprus, & Crete; I mention not those beyond Euphrates, every place where the Soil is rich (except a small part of Babylon & some parcells in other Principalities) is inhabited by Jews.

To illustrate this further, let us consider the number and interest of the Jews at Alexandria : what the glory & power of the Egyptian & Alexandrian Jews was it is easy to understand out of Josephus & Philo. They were exceeding numerous there, the chiefest Dignities, as well military as civil, were vested in them ; they had a peculiar temple built for them at Heliopolis, tho' deserted before the time of Christ, & Onias for their High Preist. They had alwais their distinct Rulers under the Egyptian Kings chosen by themselves out of their Senate to rule them for life, being Stiled αλαβαχης, εθναρχης, υπαρχης, εδραςτης & you may easily guess at their splendor and Number by the following relation of the Rabbi's. He that hath not seen the Cathedral Church (or chief Synagogue) at Alexandria never saw the real glory of Israel ; it was like a royal Palace, there were two Porticos by which to enter into it, there were in it Seventy Chairs

(for, I think, he never directly told any he was so but the woman of Samaria, Joh. Iv. 26), or evince his genealogy from David (for tho' some mean persons call'd him the Son of David, & populace by that title did cry Hosanna unto him, yet did he acquiesce in terming himself the Son of man); but esteemed him a Prophet, Elias, Jermia, and even the Messiah. And when he made his Cavalcade upon an asinego, they cried him up as the descendant of King David. But his untimely apprehension and the Death together with his neglect to improve the inclination of the people to make him King) did allay the affections of the Jews towards him, disappointed all their hopes, & so far exasperated them against him that they who had been a part of his Retinue in that intrado of his, did now call for his execution, & adjudged him by comon Suffrage to be crucified. His disciples fled, the apostles distrusted, & sufficiently testified their unbelief, by not crediting his Resurrection. But after that he was risen again, & they assured thereof, they reassume their hopes of a temporal Messiah, & the last interrogatory they propose to him is, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel? (Acts i. 6).

After his Ascension into Heaven they attend in Jerusalem the coming of the Holy Ghost, which Seized on them & gave them the gift of Tongues for a season, whereby they preached to the Jews, Elamites, Parthians, Alexandrians, etc. (these Salmasius Shows; not to be absolute Strangers or mere Natives of those Countries, but Jews planted there), as also to the proselites. These surprized with the Miracle of the Cloven Tongues, & gift of languages, being already possest with the desire & hopes of a Messiah, and there further ascertain'd by Peter, that Jesus whom Pilate had crucified was the Lord & Christ (Acts ii. 36), were to the number of three thousand immediately baptized in his Name; & such as were to depart, when they came to their Colonies did divulge the tidings and engage other Jews and proselites to the same Belief: the Apostles themselves going about & also ordaining others to preach the glad tidings of a Messiah come, who, tho' dead, was risen again (according to the obscure prediction of David) for the salvation

Now this construction of the Prophesy being inculcated into the people, & into all those Jews, Strangers, or Proselites, which resorted to Jerusalem at the great Festivals, from Alexandria, Antioch, Babylon, & all other parts where the Jews had any Colonies, there arose an universall expectation of a Messiah to come, excepting among the Herodians (who thought him already come in the person of Herod), which expectation continued among them ever after & possesseth the Jews (for our Jews are but the remains of the Pharisees) to this day.

Yet their impatience for his appearance seems not to have been at the height under Herod the great (there being no mention of false Messiah, at that time), perhaps because the Prophesy was not so clear & convincing whilst Herod was King: since under him the Scepter & Legislative power seem'd to be still in Judaea tho' swayd by an Idumean Proselite, the Preisthood continued, the Temple flourish'd, & there was a Prince of the Sanhedrim, Rabbi Hillel of the linage of David. But ten years after the birth of Christ, when Archelaus was banish'd to Vienna, & Judea reduced into the form of a Roman Province, the Scepter then seemed to be entirely departed from Judah; the Kingdom was now become part of the government of Syria; & ruled by a Procurator, who taxed them severely; then the sense of their miseries made the people more credulous, & whether they more easily believed, what they so earnestly desired might happen, or that the malcontents (taking the advantage of their uneasiness) did then more frequently & diligently insinuate into the multitude that opinion, it so happened that there arose about that time sundry false Messiahs, & the world was big with expectation raised in every Countrey by the Jews (who had received the intelligence from their comon Metropolis Jerusalem), that the great prince was coming who should establish the Jewish Monarchy, & bring peace & happiness to all the earth.

These circumstances made way for the reception of Christ; & the miracles he did (for miracles were the only demonstrations to the Jews, Mar. viii. 11), convincing the people that he was the Messiah, they did not stay till he should declare himself to bee so

to the Gematria, then it was discovered that shilo & Messiah consisted of letters which make up the same Numerals, and therefore that a mysterious promise of a Redeemer was insinuated thereby, & the Prophesy of Balaam (Num. Xxiv. 17) concerning a Star out of Jacob & a Scepter rising out of Israel, with a multitude of other predictions (which the condition of their Nation made them otherwise to despair of), must be fulfill'd under this Messiah. I name no other Prophesies, because they are either general & indefinitely express'd as to the time of their accomplishment, or else inexplicable from their obscurity, or uncertain as to their authority, as the weeks of Daniel, which book the Jews reckon among their Hagiographa or Sacred, but not Canonical books.

This Prophesy likewise had a contradictory one (Jer. Xxii. 30), where 'tis said of Coniah, That no man of his seed shall prosper sitting upon the Throne of David, & ruling any more in Judah; also Ezekiel xxii. 26, 27. Thus, saith the Lord God, remove the Diadem, & take of the crown, this shall not be the same, exalt him that is low & abase him that is high : I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, & it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is, & will give it him. Now the aforesaid obscure Prophesy which did not take effect until the reign of David, & which suffere'd such a variety of interruptions, seemeth to have fallen under this interpretation in the days of Herod the great, whom the Jews so hated for his usurpation upon the Maccabee Levitical Family, & his general cruelties, & for which he was particularly detested by the Cabalistical Pharisees, who took up the rancor against him & his Linage, & to alienate the people from him, did then make this exposition of the Prophesy : tho' I could easily imagine this to have been a contrivance; at least it is likely that Herod was not displeased with this interpretation after that the Herodians had accommodated it to him & made him the Messiah who (after their conquest & ignominy under Pompey) had restored the Jews to a great reputation & strength, rebuilt the Temple, & found some who could deduce his pedigree from the Thigh of Jacob, as directly as David's & Solomon's.

I cannot find any authentick ground to believe that the Sects among the Jews were more ancient then the dayes of the Maccabees, but arose after that Antiochus had subdued Jerusalem, and reduced the generality of the Jews to Paganism, when (the better to confirm his Conquests) he erected there an Academy, placing therein the Pythagorean, Platonick, & Epicurean Philosopheres. This I conceive (& so do others) to have been the original of the Pharisees, Saducees, and Essenes; tho'afterwards, when the Maccabees had made an Edict against, and anathematized all that taught their Children the Greek Philosophy, one party did justify their Tenets, by intitling them to Sadoc & Baithos, & the others to a Cabala derived successively from Ezra & Moses. The introduction of those Sects, & of that Cabala occasion'd that Exposition of the Prophesy of Jacob (Gen. Xlix. 10). The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come, & unto him shall the gathering of the people be. From whence they did (according to that fantastic Cabala) imagine that whensoever the Scepter should depart from Judah, & the dominion thereof cease, that then there should arise a Messiah of the line of David (yet his being of the line of David was not a general opinion, for how then could any have imagin'd Herod the great to have been the Messiah, or how could Josephus fix that character upon Vespasian) who should restore the Empire & Glory of Israel, to whom all nations should bow & submit to his Scepter. I do not read that the Jews harbor'd any such exposition during their Captivity under Nebuchadnezzar : albeit that the Scepter so departed at that time from the Tribe of Judah, & house of David, that it was never resettled in it more, after their return to Jerusalem no such thing is spoken of; when Antiochus Epiphanes subdued them, prophaned their Temple, destroyed their Laws & rites, & left them nothing of a scepter & Lawgiver, during all which time notwithstanding they had the same Prophesies & Scriptures among them, there is no news of any expected Messiah. But after the curiosity of the Rabbi's had involved them in the pursuance of Mistical Numbers and Pythagorically or Cabalistically to explain them, according

hemm'd in between two great & potent Princes, one reigning over the Eastern Christians, the other over the Persians, & which very much augments the wonder, all this was accomplished in the compass of a very few years, by a Man of a mean State, fiercely opposed & slenderly befreinded.

Before we enter upon the History & Character of this person, who by these actions has gain'd so much upon the esteem of one part of the world, & filled the rest with wonder & amazement, we shall endeavour as much as in us lyes to discover the means by which he achieved those great things. And in order thereto, we must consider what it was that disposed the people to such a change, & thereby favoured the beginning & assisted the Progress of that Stupendous Revolution.

The bravest actions do often miscarry, & the greatest Attempts prove abortive, under very fair pretences & happy beginnings, in case the antecedent causes be not proportionate & agreeable to the Designe. Never did any Republick dwindle into a Monarchy, nor any Kingdom alter into an Aristocracy or Comon Wealth without a series of preceeding causes principally contributing to such alterations. Without which Brutus had never erected a Senate in Rome, nor had Caesar afterwards been able to establish himself in a power so odious to that free people. And if we inquire the reason why the first Brutus acould expell Tarquin, and the second (whose endeavours were no less for the publick good) was not able to overthrow Augustus & Anthony ; why Lycurgus, Solon, & other could establish those Governments in Sparta, Athens, &c., which others have in vain attempted to settle in Genoa, Florence, and other places, we shall find that some considering those antecedent Causes which secretly & securely incline to the Change have taken the advantage thereof, whilst the others did only regard the speciousness or Justice of their pretensions without a mature Examination of what was principally to be observed. This is certain that when the previous Dispositions interven'd, a Slight occasion, nay, often a mere Casualty opportunely taken hold of, & wisely prosecuted, will produce those Revolutions which otherwise no human Sagacity or Courage could accomplish.

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MAHOMET CONTEYNING AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF JUDAISM & CHRISTIANITY FROM THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST TO MAHOMET

The Original and Progress of Mahometanism was one of the greatest Transactions the World has ever been acquainted with, wherein a new Religion was introduced which hath now maintain'd itself above a thousand years, & (to the desolation in a manner of Paganism, Judaism, & Christianity) hath increased its extent, & spread its Proselites, over more then a fifth part of the known Earth, to which Judaism, including all its Colonies, was never equal, nor perhaps Christianity itself.

For if we consider the State & Condition of Christianity before the time of Constantine, or even to the dayes of Theodosius, we shall find that during all that time, as the Senate of Rome, so the greatest part of the Empire were Pagans: & afterwards when it was settled & established by human Laws : the inundation of the Arrian Goths, & the general irreligion, impiety, & division into Sects (some whereof were Idolaters), do not permit me to think that true & fervent Christianity was, at the time of Mahomet's appearance in the World, so far diffused as Mahometanism is at present, & I doubt that since that time the progress which the Christian Religion has made in the Western World, & of late in some parts of China, bears no proportion with what it has lost in the other parts of Asia & in Africk, where it is almost extirpated by the prevailing doctrine of Mahomet. With this new religion arose an Empire greater then any of the four so famed Monarchies, erected in a poor barren Countrey,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE & PROGRESS OF MAHOMETANISM

discourse. "So dextrous," says Wood, "was his pen, whether pro or con, that few or none could equal, answer, or come near him." His dispute with the Royal Society arose through a certain member of that body speaking slightingly of the learning and philosophy of the ancients, asserting that even the cure of a cut finger could not be performed by them. This so provoked Stubbe that he declared war against the Society. The controversy, in which many prominent scholars participated, was long and bitter, and contributed largely to the literature of the period.

In 1672 he wrote *A Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands,* in answer to a Dutch treatise. For the compilation of this and *A Further Justification, etc.,* he was allowed the use of the Paper Office at Whitehall, and was awarded a sum of two hundred pounds out of His Majesty's Exchequer. In 1673 Stubbe published the *Paris Gazette,* which he wrote against the marriage of the Duke of York and the Princess of Modena. For this offence he was arrested, taken from one prison to another, "threatened with hanging, and was put to a great deal of charge." The time when he was released is not known. It is probable that he wrote his *Rise and Progress of Mahometanism* somewhere about this period, but the reason for its non-publication remains a mystery. Stubbe's correspondence with Hobbes is preserved in British Museum Addit. 32553.

and universities. In these circumstances he was ejected from the Library. He retired to Stratford-on-Avon, and started a private practice as a physician. On the Restoration he made a voluntary application to Dr. George Morley, for his protection in retirement, promising an inviolable passive obedience. At the Restoration of Bishops he, at the motion of Dr. Morley, received confirmation. Referring to this incident in one of his works, he says, "I have joined myself to the Church of England, not only upon account of its being publicly imposed, but because it is the least defining, and consequently the most comprehensive and fitting, to be national."

In the following year he went to Jamaica as physician of His Majesty, but in 1665, on account of continuous ill-health under that climate, he was obliged to return. For some time he remained in and about London, went thence to Stratford, and finally settled at Warwick practising medicine, and retiring to Bath in the summer: in both Warwich and Bath he acquired a considerable practice. While on a visit to one of his patients at Bristol, on the 12th July 1676, he was drowned while passing through a shallow river, two miles from Bath, his horse, it is supposed, having stumbled. Next morning his body was examined by the Coroner. He was buried on Friday, in the Great Church at Bath, his antagonist, Mr. Glanvill, preaching his funeral sermon.

This remarkable man, whose brilliant career was so suddenly closed, led a very active literary life, and has left numerous works on various subjects. He was a "most noted Latinist and Grecian of his age, a singular mathematician, and thoroughly read in all political matters, councils, ecclesiastical and profane histories." He possessed a most prodigious memory, which his enemies would not acknowledge, alleging that he only read indexes. He was an excellent physician "of a high generous nature, scorned money and riches, and the adorers of them." He had a voluble tongue and a big and commanding voice, and was very seldom known to hesitate either in public dispute or private

MEMOIR OF DR. HENRY STUBBE

"The most noted person of his age that these late times have produced." With this remark the celebrated Wood opens his account of Dr. Henry Stubbe.

Stubbe was born on the 28th of February 1631, at Partney, near Spilsby in Lincolnshire; at which place his father, then a minister, resided. Being anabaptistically inclined, he was forced to leave his ministry, and went to Ireland, where he found employment at Tredagh. Upon a rebellion breaking out in that country, in 1641, Mrs. Stubbe, with our author and another child, fled to England. Landing at Liverpool, she went on to London, where she earned her living by her needle. Her son attended the School at Westminster, and Mr. Richard Busbie, the chief master, who found the boy very talented and promising, gave him much encouragement. Sir Henry Vane (beheaded on Tower Hill, 1662) took a considerable interest in the lad, frequently helping him with meals and money, and showing him other favours. Through his kindness, Stubbe, having received a King's scholarship, proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford. He graduated in 1653, then went to Scotland, and served in the war, for the Parliament, from 1653 to 1655. On his return he took the degree of M.A., and was appointed the Second Keeper to the Bodleian Library, which appointment he held for three years: "being all the time much favoured" by the then Head Keeper. Endowed with an extraordinary memory, he distinguished himself in various branches of learning. Dr. E. Reynold, when restored to his Deanery in 1659, found means to remove him from the Library. Stubbe's loyalty to Sir Henry Vane was the chief charge laid against him before the Parliament, and he is spoken of as "one that palliated in print Sir Henry Vane's wickedness"; Stubbe having written *A Vindication of that Prudent and Honourable Knight, Sir Henry Vane,* London, 1659. Another work of the author, *A Light shining out of Darkness,* appeared the same year, and was looked upon as an attack upon the clergy

True, he has not, like these great masters, been fortunate enough to obtain a hearing from the world; nevertheless, he was the first Englishman to cast from himself the trammels which, with the rest of his countrymen, he had inherited from the Middle Ages. There is no trace in him of that concession to preconceived ideas and malignant notions which one frequently observes in almost all works on the subject by English writers and he speaks the truth fully and fearlessly, without being deterred, as many are to our day, by religious or political considerations. It is therefore fitting that we should honour the memory of this great man, whose work certainly claims the appreciation of posterity.

The errors inevitable in a writer of the seventeenth century, who was entirely dependent upon Christian records, are not to be wondered at, since we know how meagre the information was then. In some instances the author has fallen a prey to such legendary accounts, which were obviously received as authentic. One of them is in relation to the home of our lady Khadija, supposed by the author to be Syria. In early chronicles she is spoken of as the queen of Syria, and it is evident that he refers to this story when he says : "I think I follow the most probable story by placing Chadija in Syria, though she were a Coreischite." His references to the Prophet's serving in the Christian army under Abubecr (wrongly called uncle to the Prophet), with Omar and Osman, carry us back again to the Christian legend which describes them as great captains, who leaded a revolt because the paymaster of the Greek army called them "Saracen Dogs." In a similar light must be read the alleged journey of the Prophet to Spain. Evidently this romance was invented by some Spaniard who sought to glorify St. Isidore, the great saint of his land. The work by Count Boulainvilliers, which has many points in common with those of the author, also contains this story. It is to be regretted that the above two legends have disfigured the pages of Stubbe's work. It is owing to them that a strong current of political considerations runs throughout the book, and even the political speeches of Aly are written under their influence.

Reviewed in its entirety, the work of Dr. Stubbe proves to be a very important and healthy contribution proves to the literature of his time; and it is sincerely to be deplored that it was not published earlier. Its appearance would have disabused the minds of Englishmen concerning the alleged "Imposture of Mahmet," a popular opinion current during the last two centuries and not exploded until recently.

Stubbe deserves to rank with Gibbon and Carlyle, whose judicious writings have done so much to combat the prejudices that warp the judgment of England with regard to the Prophet.

The Prophet, according to the author, is a Prophet-monarch, something like King David. His prophetic mission was predicted, and his military career was built, in the atmosphere of the Christian camp. Thus politics, along with the prophetical mission, play an important part in his life. It is the legislative wisdom of the master of Arabia which has completely won our author" heart. Notwithstanding the misleading character and the meagerness of the material at his command, Stubbe has achieved a great triumph in his description of the Journey of Aly. The narrative is purposely enlarged, with a view to acquainting his readers with the opinions, sentiments, and religious notions of the Musulmans. He views the character of Aly with an affection not unworthy of a Muslim, and proceeds to describe the journey. Here, in the atmosphere of romance, he unveils a profound knowledge of pre-Islamic traditions: embodying in the speeches of Ali, which cannot fail to excite our enthusiasm, passages full of the fire of Arab eloquence.

Equally admirable is his masterly treatment of a false notion, "The spread of Islam by the Sword," an idea rooted for centuries in the Western mind, and still maintained in some quarters. He calls it "a vulgar opinion" and "a palpable mistake." His remarkable verdict on this point finds abundant confirmation in recent writers, as may be seen in that great mine of learning, *The Preaching of Islam*, by Professor T. W. Arnold.

The most useful and instructive portion of the work is that which deals with the early fables of the Christians in relation to our Prophet. In Chapter VIII., he has particularly directed his attention to the refutation of these calumnies. Many authors have passed remarks concerning the misconceptions and prejudices entertained against Islam, but beyond this vague utterance little was to be learnt from them. We never knew the real state of affairs until Stubbe set it before us. Something has been said on this topic by M. Alessandro d'Ancona in Italy, by Renan and Edmond Doutte in France, but in England not a single writer can be found who has done so.

mediated deeply on the problem of the rise of Islam. Doubtful of the integrity of the current opinions, they proceeded to institute a new inquiry, to which the introduction of Oriental Study also gave a strong support. The name of Dr. Stubbe cannot be forgotten in this connection. Until then England had been content to read the histories of Musulmans either in Latin and French, or through translations from these languages. It was not until Stubbe arrived on the scene that the attempt was made to produce an original work in the English language; and this is the book now before us. It may not be out of place to point out some of the chief features of the work.

The author begins with a critical study of the history of Judaism and Christianity. His remarks as to the belief of the primitive Christians are of great interest. Their principal tenet, he tells us, consisted in the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, whose second coming would restore the glory of Israel, and establish truth and peace throughout the world. These primitive Christians, he further observes, neither looked upon Christ as the son of God by eternal generation, nor prayed to him; also they did not believe in the Holy Ghost or the Trinity. Such doctrines he maintains, would have been capital among them, as tending to blasphemy and polytheism. To us, who are Muslims, these admissions are of deep significance, especially at the present time, when England is sending an army of missionaries to cajole us into accepting these very doctrines. The author holds a strong brief for those Judaising churches, bewailing their fate and questioning the authority which declared them heretic in subsequent ages. The remarkable intuition with which he approaches Islam on these questions deserves our profound attention.

The want of authentic material has prevented Dr. Stubbe from producing a copious life story of the Prophet; but we should not employ the modern standard of judgment in this case, and should make due allowance for the period at which the sketch was composed.

Museum copy has only five headings, our copy is divided into ten chapters. Ms. Hornby's aim, perhaps, was to present the book in the form of a narrative as well as in historical order, necessitating a fresh arrangement, with the consequent additions, variations, and omission. This, although leaving the work substantially unaltered, has resulted in occasional repetitions and inconsistencies, and the attempt has been made to eliminate these with a view to general harmony. Some passages, again, have been omitted because they militate against modern canons of taste, or because they break the continuity of the text. With these exceptions, which have been kept within narrow limits, the original remains untouched.

Here it must also be added that Dr. Stubbe has always made it a point to give his references, systematically noted in manuscripts. Nos. 1 and 3. Unfortunately Mr. Hornby has omitted them, as a rule; hence no reference is found in our work. It is sufficient to note here that the author is acquainted with almost all the writers on the history of Jadaism, Christianity and Islam, from the earliest period down to his own time.

IV. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The early accounts of the Muslims reached the English shores through French and Latin sources, with occasional contributions from other languages. These accounts, generally speaking, were based on legends and fables. As time passed on, they grew in number and vastness, until the introduction of the Press incorporated them in book form. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries saw them widely circulated in the literature of the period. These legends wee of the grossest nature, absurd, abusive, and obscene. It may be said, to the credit of Englishmen, that there is nothing in them of local origin: withal, they were copied, quoted, read and believed by all classes in this country. People read them to denounce and incriminate the system of Islam; the unlearned sharing the same sentiments with scholars. Amidst this general ignorance there were some solitary figures who, inspired by their own philosophical reasoning,

(1) As Account of the Life of Mahomet	Page	1-55
(2) A general Preface to the Account of the Origin and Progress of Mahometanism.	"	57-100
(3) The History of the Saracens and of Mahomet.	"	103-193
(4) Concerning the Justice of the Mahometan wars, and that Mahomet did not propagate his doctrine by th sword.	"	195-203
(5) Concerning the Christian Additions	"	205-210

5. Harl. MSS, No. 6189. With the exception of a slight change in the division of the chapters, it is the same as No. 4, above mentioned. It contains many corrections and has no title. The cataloguer did not attribute it to Dr. Stubbe, and treated it as an anonymous work. It is a folio copy, 308 pages, "fairly written," "dated 7th Julij 1718. Exam. W.T." The arrangement of the chapter is as follows:-

(1) The Rise and Progress of Mahometanism.	Page	1-78
(2) Of Mahomet and the Saracens…	"	78-216
(3) Concerning the Justice of the Mahometan wars, and that Mahomet did not propagate his doctrine by the sword…	"	216-230
(4) Additions concerning the Christians…	"	230-240
(5) A general preface to the Account of Mahometanism and Progress…	"	240-308

The texts, as they have come down to us, appear by no means intact, having suffered greatly in transcription. Words, paragraphs, sentences, and even the divisions of the chapters in the existing copies, do not agree. We are at a loss to know what was the original division and the title of the work. A comparison of our copy with the Harl. MSS, No. 1876, shows that numerous variations exist between the two copies. While the British

> Mahometan Wars, and that Mahomet did not propagate his religion by the sword."

These two fragments, in the same late seventeenth century hand, are evidently one and the same copy of the work, and this fact would have been apparent to the cataloguer could he have had the manuscripts before him at the same time. This copy is probably the earliest known, and contains five chapters in all, of which the first, and the first half of the third chapter, which corresponds to the first chapter and a portion of the second chapter of the Harl. MSS, No. 1876, missing.

2. The text from which Mr. Hornby made his copy. In the catalogue of the Hornby Collection (already referred to), page 13, it is thus described;:-

> "No. 31- The Origin and Progress of Mahometanism the same; with number 39."

This was a folio, and was sold with the Hornby copy already mentioned. In 1817 it appeared in the Disney Catalogue, page 70:

> "(Lot) 1564- Treatise on the Origin and Progress of Mahometanism."

Sir Alexander Boswell bought it for one shilling and sixpence, and it came into the market again in 1893, when the Auchinleck Library was sold, and was purchased by Messrs. Bull & Auvache, who have disposed of the book and are unable to trace it.

3. No. 1559 of the Disney Catalogue, page 70"

> "Stubes (Dr.), History of Mahomet, with his letters concerning it."

Sold to Thomas Rodd (Senior) for four shillings. Nothing is known of the subsequent history of this manuscript.

4. Harl, MSS, No. 1876. Attributed by Mr. Wanley to Dr. Stubbes. It is a folio without date or title, beautifully written, containing 210 pages in all, with the following divisions or chapters:-

> copied C.H. (Charles Hornby), Ano Dni 1705, with some variations and additions, folio, blue mor., gilt leaves."

This was purchased by Sir Alexander Boswell (1775-1822), the son of James Boswell, the famous Biographer of Johnson, for eleven shillings, and thus became a part of the Auchinleck Library. This library itself was sold and dispersed in 1893, and in Sotheby's Cataloge it is again described on page 13, among the Folios, as :-

> "(Lot) 194- Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism, with the Life of Mohomet, and a Vindication of him and his Religion (supposed to tbe written by Dr. Stubbs), clearly written manuscripts, copied by C.H., A.D. 1705, with some variations and additions, blue morocco extra, g.e., from Sir J. Dalrymple's Library, 1705."

Sotheby evidently misinterpreted the initials J.D., which meant John Disney, for J. Dalrymple. The Dalrymple Library was sold in 1830, and the book at that period still belonged to the Auchinleck Library. Bertram Dobell, its next owner, bought it for eight shillings, and from this firm it was purchased by the present owner in 1907.

III. OTHER MANUCRIPTS

There are several other manuscript copies in existence. Of those mentioned below, Nos. 1, 4, and 5 are to be found in the British Museum.

1. Fragments of an unknown copy, scattered in Nos. 1709 and 1786 of the Sloane MSS, and described in the catalogue as :-

   1709. "The History of the Saracens and of Mahomet, chiefly taken from Pocock and Hottinger.

   1786. "Fragment of a treatise respecting the rites and ceremonies of Mahometans, and the justice of

Western Barbary of Lancelot Addison is not a later addition, the date of authorship is narrowed down to the period 1671-1676.

II. THE HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript which forms the text of this publication is not only the best and earliest dated copy known, but also the only one giving the full title. It is beautifully written, in an Italian hand, and contains in all 169 pages, divided into ten chapters. Mr Charles Hornby copied it with some variations and additions, as he himself tells us on the title-page.

On the death of Hornby, in 1739, this book appeared in the catalogue of his library, and is described as follows:-

> "39-An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mohometanism, with the Life of Mahomet, and a Vindication of him and his Religion from the Calumnies of the Christians, and neatly bound in blue Turkey, supposed to be wrote (*sic*) by Dr. Stubbs." See "Catalogue of the Collection of the Learned and Curious, Charles Hornby, Esq.," sold by Mr. Cocks on Monday the 3rd December 1739.

We next find it in the library of the Rev. John Disney, D.D., of Ingatestone, Essex. Disney, in early life, was a Trinitarian, but latter became a Unitarian, and took an active part in the defence and diffusion of the Unitarian movement. He seems to have taken special interest in Dr. Stubbe's work, of which, as has been seen, he possessed three copies. This one bears his book-plate, with crest, consisting of a Lion with the motto "Vincit Qui Patitur," with the initials J.D. in the corner. In the auction sale catalogue this copy is described by Sotheby as follows:-

> "(Lot) 1562- Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism, with the Life of Mahomet, and a Vindication of him and his Religion from the Calumnies of the Christians, supposed to be written by Dr. Stubbs,

INTRODUCTION

I. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

Of those who have written of this work and its authorship, the earliest known is Mr. Charles Hornby, of the Pipe Office, who transcribed it in 1705, and states that it was supposed to have been written by Dr. Stubbe.

A few years later Thomas Magney, Rector of St. Nicholas Guilford (*sic*), in his *Remarks upon Nazarenus,* 1718, makes the following reference to a work in defence of Mulsims. "A physician of some note a few years ago wrote, as it is said, a thorough defence of their sentiment, a manuscript copy of which I have seen, and it is surprising, that among the many unbelieving books that have lately been published, this should escape." In all probability Dr. Stubbe is the physician referred to.

Mr. Wanley (who died 1727) echoes the same belief in the Harl. MSS Catalogue. "I have heard," he says, "that the author was Doctor Henry Stubs the Physician; but it is not particularly mentioned in the large account given of him and his works by Mr. Anthony Wood in the second volume of his *Athenae Oxoniensis.*"

In the library of the Rev. John Disney, D.D., (1746-1816), sold by Sotheby, in 1817, three copies of this work were included, and one of these was probably the original manuscript of Stubbe. With it were also some letters, apparently on the same subject, but neither the book nor the letters can now be traced.

Internal evidence thrown little fresh light on the question of the authorship or date of the work. We find in it a reference to Sir Paul Rycaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire,* wrongly described (perhaps from memory) as his *Relation of the Turkish Government.* As this was published in 1668, and Stubbe was drowned in 1676, the latters' work was probably finished sometime between these two dates; and if a quotation from the

aspirations and tenets of Islam in return. People still survive, even in the twentieth century, who most solemnly declare that the Mahometans worship an idol, called Mahomet.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to Halil Halid Bey for the interest shown in the progress of this publication, also to the members of the Committee, particularly Messrs. Muhammed Khairuddin Saggu and Syed Muhammed Arif, and to the other subscribers. My warmest thanks are due to those English friends who have assisted and advised me, but, owing to their natural modesty, have prevailed upon me to omit their names.

The list of subscribers will be found at the end of the volume. I hope they will excuse the unforeseen delay in the progress of the publication, and I beg to assure them that all the profits accruing from this work will be devoted to the promotion of Islamic Study.

PREFACE

In offering this volume to the public, no explanation or apology we think, is necessary. Nevertheless, the reader's attention is drawn to the fact that although it has existed in manuscript for a period of nearly two hundred and fifty years, it now sees the light of publication for the first time. The unusual character of the work, its high antiquarian value, and its importance as the earliest known sympathetic composition in English literature, were sufficient warrant for its publication. With this view in mind, a Fund was inaugurated, and appeal made to the Muslims resident in England. The generous and speedy response with which this appeal has been met is most gratifying: a pleasing feature being that, through the efforts of Halil Halid Bey (the author of *The Crescent* versus *The Cross*), and the courtesy of the directors of the Turkish newspapers, the Sabah and the Sirat-i-Mustaqim, two separate subscriptions were raised in Constantinople, which proved to be a very handsome and substantial support to the Funds.

It may be as well to explain that the work, although appearing under the auspices of the Islamic Society, is not one of its own publications, and that the opinions of the author should therefore not be construed as those advocated or advanced by the Society. The volume provides us with a unique opportunity of acquainting ourselves with the early Western notions of Islam, which, although long since exploded, still exercise a great influence on the writings of modern times. With a similar desire, an Appendix is added, which, it is hoped, may throw further light on the subject. If the appearance of this publication succeeds in impressing upon the minds of Muslims the sore need of activity on their part, to promote Islamic Study in the English language, we shall consider that our labour is rewarded. It is unnecessary to remind them of the sad reproach under which they stand, in consequence of their non-activity in this direction. Certainly, we ought not to forget that, while we have to learn so many things from the West, we should endeavour to teach her the real

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS OF MAHOMETANISM
WITH THE LIFE OF MAHOMET

And a Vindication of him and his Religion from the Calumnies of the Christians

BY

Dr. HENRY STUBBE, M.A.

OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

FROM A MANUSCRIPT COPIED
BY CHARLES HORNBY OF PIPE OFFICE, IN 1705
"WITH SOME VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS"

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX
By HAFIZ MAHMUD KHAN SHAIRANI

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LONDON
1911

account of paradise and the future state. as may be agreable to our Senses and apprehensions.

Yet Supposing we are to take Mahomets description of Paradise in a litteral interpretation I know not why he should be so blamed for representing those Joyes by sensual Delights. We cannot imagine that he thereby designed to encourage his followers in sensuality and to make his Religion easy to them by indulging their brutal appetites, his Severe prohibition of the delicious Juice of the Grape is alone a sufficient confutation of that opinion. I have in the Embassy of Italy represented the Sense of the Mahometans concerning the pleasures of this Life, their Precepts and Arguments are as conclusive agt placing of happynesse in Sensuality here on Earth, as those of the Stoics or Christians Yet if Wee imagine that our Souls must rise with the same Bodies which we have here excepting that our Mortality shall put on Immortality; since pleasure ariseth like knowledge from our Senses. if our Bodies are to be of the same kind but only glorified: We must imagine that the same parts and the same Senses will have the same Appetites & pleasures or somthing analogous thereto, tho' infinitely more perfect and delightful.

Let us now lay aside our prejudices and see what there is so much amiss in the Mahometan Religion their Articles of Faith are few and plain whereby they are preserved from Schisms and Heresies, for altho' they have great diversity of Opinions in the explication of their Law, yet agreeing in the fundamentals their differences in opinion do not reach to that breach of Charity so common among the Christians who thereby become a scandal to all other Religions in the world Their Notions of God are great and noble, their Opinion

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PART I

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF MAHOMETANISM

مجلس ترقی ادب لاہور